

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second,

Κηρυξ ἰς αἶν. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. I.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

AT length comes into the World, *The First Volume of the History of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars in England, begun in the Year 1641, with the precedent Passages and Actions, that Contributed thereunto, and the Happy End and Conclusion thereof, by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return, upon the 29th. of May in the Year 1660; Written by Edward Earl of Clarendon, once Lord High-Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the Famous University of Oxford.* The first of these great Dignities King *Charles* the Second had conferred on Him, whilst he was yet in Banishment with him; which he held, after the Restoration, above seven Years, with the Universal Approbation of the whole Kingdom, and the General Applause of all good Men, for his Justice, Integrity, sound Judgment, and Eminent Sufficiency in the discharge of that Office; a Praise, which none of his Enemies ever denied Him, in any Time: The Other He received from the Choice of the University, who, upon the Vacancy of that Place, by the death of the Marquis of *Hertford*, then Duke of *Somerset*, judged They could not better manifest their steadiness in the Cause for which They had suffered, and their Resolutions of adhering to their Old Principles, in support of the Church of *England*, and the Ancient Monarchical Government of this Kingdom, than in chusing to place the Protection of their Interest in both, under the care of One, who had so early distinguished

Himself, even From the first Approaches of the Civil War, in asserting and maintaining the distressed Rights of the Church and Crown.

This History was first begun by the express Command of King *Charles* the First, who, having a desire, that an account of the Calamities, God was pleased to inflict on the Unhappy part of his Reign, should be reported to Posterity by some worthy, honest, and knowing Man, thought He could not appoint any One more adorned with such Qualifications, than this Author.

It is a difficult Province to write the History of the Civil Wars of a Great and Powerful Nation, where the King was engaged with one Part of his Subjects against the other, and both Sides were sufficiently inflamed: And the Necessity of speaking the Truth of several Great Men, that were engaged in the Quarrel on either Side, who may still have very considerable Relations, descended from Them, now Alive, makes the Task Invidious, as well as Difficult.

We are not ignorant that there are Accounts, contained in this following History, of some Eminent Persons in those Times, that do not agree with the relations we have met with of the same Persons, published in other Authors. But, besides that they who put forth this History, dare not take upon them to make any Alterations in a Work of this kind, solemnly left with them to be published, when-ever it should be published, as it was delivered to Them; they cannot but think the World will generally be of Opinion, that others may as likely have been mistaken in the grounds, and informations they have gone upon,

THE PREFACE.

as our Author; who will be esteemed to have had opportunities, equal at least with any others, of knowing the Truth; and by the Candor, and Impartiality of what He relates, may be believed not to have made any wilful mistakes.

However, all things of this Nature must be submitted, as this is, with great deference to the judgment of the equal Reader; who will meet, in his progress through this work, with many Passages, that, he will judge, may disoblige the Posterity of even well meaning Men in those days: much more then of such as were crafty, cunning, and wicked enough to design the mischiefs that ensued: But he shall meet with none of Malice, nor any but such as the Author, upon his best information, took to be Impartially true. He could not be ignorant of the Rules of a good Historian (which, *Cicero* says, *are such foundations; that they are known to every body*) *That he should Not dare to speak any Falshood; and should dare to speak any Truth.* And we doubt not, but through the whole progress of this History, he will be found to have given no occasion of suspecting his writings *guilty of partial favor, or unjust enmity*; and we hope, that the representing the Truth, without any mixture of private Passion or Animosity, will be so far from giving offence to any Ingenuous Man of this time, that it will be received rather as an Instruction to the present Age, than a Reproach upon the last.

Moreover; the Tenderness that might seem due, out of Charity, good Manners, and good Nature, to our Country-Men, our Neighbours, or our Relations, hath been indulged a long space of time;

and might possibly be abused, if it should not give way, at last, to the usefulness of making this work public, in an Age, when so many Memoirs, Narratives, and pieces of History come out, as it were on purpose to justify the taking up of Arms against that King, and to blacken, revile, and ridicule the sacred Majesty of an Anointed head in distress; and when so much of the Sense of Religion to God, and of Allegiance and Duty to the Crown, is so defaced, that it is already, within little more than fifty Years since the Murder committed on that Pious Prince, by some Men made a Mystery to judge, on whose side was the Right, and on which the Rebellion is to be charged.

We hope therefore it will be judged necessary as well as useful, that an impartial Account of the most material Passages of those unhappy times should at last come out; and that We shall have the general Approbation, for having contributed thus far to Awaken Men to that Honesty, Justice, Loyalty, and Piety, which formerly English Men have been valuable for, and without which it is impossible any Government, Discipline, or Authority can be long maintained.

There is no doubt, but this good King had some Infirmities, and Imperfections; and might thereby be misled into some mistakes in Government, which the Nation, in Parliament represented, might have reformed by moderate and peaceful Counsels. But the Reformation lost it's Name, and it's Nature too, when so many Acts passed by him in Parliament, that did restrain the Prerogative of the Crown from doing the Mischiefs it had been taxed with, had not

the effect they ought to have met with, of restraining the People too from farther demands; and when the inordinate Ambition, Anger, and Revenge of some of the great Leaders could not be limited within any Bounds, till they had involved the Nation in Blood, destroyed many Thousands of their own Country-Men, and fellow Citizens, and brought at last their own Sovereign to lose his Head on a Scaffold, under a pretended form of a High-Court of Justice, unprecedented from the beginning of the World; and, to Finish their work, had overthrown all the Laws of their own Country, in the Defence of which, they would have had it thought, they had been obliged to draw their Swords.

Without question, every body that shall duly consider the whole Account of these Transactions, will be able to impute mistakes, miscarriages, and faults enough to both Sides: And we shall leave them to their own sedate and composed Reflections. But We cannot omit making this one Observation, that where any King by ill Judgment, or ill Fortune, of his Own, or Those intrusted by him in the chief Administration of his Government, happens to fall into an Interest contrary to that of his People, and will pursue that mistake, that Prince must have Terrible Conflicts in the course of his Reign, which way soever the Controversy ends: On the other hand, that People, who, though Invaded and Oppressed in their just Rights and Liberties, shall not rest satisfied with reasonable Reparations and Securities, but, having got Power into their hands, will make unjustifiable Use of it,

to the utter Subversion of that Government they are bound in Duty and Allegiance to Support, do but at last make Rods for their own Backs, and very often bring upon Themselves, from other hands, a more severe Bondage than that they had shook off.

To demonstrate this General Observation, let it be considered in Particular, what was the Advantage this poor Nation gained from all the Victories obtained over King *Charles* in the Field, and, afterwards, in the Imprisoning, and Prosecuting him to Death: What amends did it make for the Infringement and Prejudice, they complained of, in their Rights and Liberties, to set up the Protector *Cromwell*, who, under a Thousand Artifices and Cruelties, intended no other Reformation, but, instead of Whips, to chastise the poor People with Scorpions; and, instead of their Idol Commonwealth, which some had vainly imagined to Themselves, to make himself that very hated thing, a King, which had been so abominable in his own Sight? And after him, what did all the other several sorts of Government, set up sometimes to gratify the Ambition of one Party, and sometimes of Another, end in, but so many several ways of Oppression; which, after many Years spent in Exhausting the Blood and Treasure of their Country, at length made way for the happy Restoration of the Son, and Family of that King (whom they had so Barbarously brought to an untimely End) with the utmost Scorn, and Derision of all that pretended to Rule in His stead?

Here We might descend into Particulars, to make

out the other part of our Observation, by giving Instances, how some of our own Kings have, unhappily, been led into very dangerous mistakes in their Government; and how many Years have passed almost in one perpetual Strife, and unfortunate Contention between the Prince and the People, in Points of the highest consequence; and especially those, which have brought the Prince, sometimes, under the disadvantageous suspicion of being inclined to the love of Arbitrary Power, and favoring the Popish Religion; than which the most mortal Enemies to the Crown of *England* cannot possibly contrive, or wish, more miserable circumstances for it to be involved in. But We are rather desirous to draw a Veil over all the Calamities, that have proceeded from this Cause; as well because the impressions those mistakes have made, and the marks they have left behind them, will not easily be worn out; as that it might look like insulting over Their Misfortunes, who have been the Chief Losers by them; which We have, in no kind, the Inclination, or the Heart to do: Neither would we be thought to give Countenance, by what We write, to the Opinions of those, who would Justify the rising up in Arms of Subjects, to do themselves Right in any Controversy between them and their King.

Non hæc in Fædera —

The Nature of our excellent Government hath provided, in the Constitution of it, other remedies, in a Parliamentary way; wherein both the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People

may be better secured : And besides, We know to whom Vengeance peculiarly belongs, and that He who challenges that Power to Himself, will not suffer it to be communicated to any other.

But We should think ourselves very fortunate, if, in the Reflections we have been making on this Subject, We have represented the Truth, on both Sides, with that Fairness and Impartiality, in the perplexed condition of our Own Affairs, that all Princes may see and judge, that it can never turn to their Advantage, to be in an Interest contrary to that of their People, nor to give their Subjects unreasonable Provocations. For (as in other Cases, where the Laws both of God and Man are too often broken, though very strict and positive, so in this point too) the People may not always be restrained from attempting by force to do themselves Right, though they Ought not.

And we hope no less, that the People will be convinced, that it were wiser and better for them, to obtain the Redress of their Grievances by such ways, as the Ancient Laws of this Kingdom have provided : And that the Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, is the happiest Composition of Government in the World; and so suited to the Nature of *English* Men generally, that though it be expelled for a Time, yet it will return.

We would therefore heartily wish both for Prince and People, if either of them should be guilty of any irregular Deviations from their own Channels, that they who are injured would content themselves with gentle Applications, and moderate Remedies, lest the last error be worse than the first : And above all, that whosoever may have a thought of

Ruling in this Land, may be thoroughly convinced in his own judgment, that it is a Crown of Briers and Thorns that must be set on his Head, without he can satisfy all reasonable Men, that it is his fixed Principle and Resolution, inviolably to defend our Religion, and preserve our Laws.

Upon the whole matter, We have often wondered, and rest still amazed, that any Prince should care to govern a People against their Nature, their Inclinations, and their Laws. What Glory can it be to a Prince of a great Spirit, to subdue, and break the hearts of his own Subjects, with whom he should live properly as a Shepherd with his Flock? If two Lovers, who should pass their time in renewing, repeating, and returning all the Offices of Friendship, Kindness, Tenderness, and Love, were, instead of that, unluckily contriving always to Cross, Oppose, and Torment one another, what could be the effect of such a Conversation, but Vexation and Anguish in the beginning, a short lived Correspondence, and Hatred, and Contempt in the Conclusion?

Our Constitution is the main Point ever to be regarded; which, God be praised, hath been preserved through so many Ages. For though there have been some Men often found, and of great parts too, who, for their private advantages, are aiding, sometimes the Monarch, and sometimes the Party that would be a Common-wealth, under specious Pretences for the Public Good, to exceed the Limits the Constitution hath prescribed in this Country; yet the Nation still finds, in all Ages, some truly Public Spirits, that preserve it from being long imposed upon.

There is a craft, and a perpetual subtilty, that Men of private Interest must work with to support their own designs : But the true Interest of the Kingdom is the plainest thing in the World : It is what every Body in *England* finds and feels, and knows to be Right, and they are not long a finding it neither. This is that Interest, that is supported *Non tam fama, quam sua vi* ; it's own weight still keeps it steady against all the Storms, that can be brought to beat upon it, either from the Ignorance of Strangers to our Constitution, or the Violence of any, that project to themselves wild Notions of appealing to the People out of Parliament (a Parliament sitting) as it were to a fourth Estate of the Realm ; and calling upon them to come and take their share in the direction of the Public, and most Important Consultations. This We conceive to be another way of undermining the Ancient and true Constitution, but not like to be more effectual than some others, that have been tried before ; since We have the experience that no violence, nor almost ruin, hath, hitherto, hindered it from settling again upon it's old foundation.

There hath been, within the compass of few years, much Talk, and, God knows, too many ill Effects too, of Factions in this Kingdom ; and We have lived, in our days, to see the Two great Parties, of late known by the Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, directly change their ground ; and those, who were formerly the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obsequious, as ever They were who had been the most found fault with on that score. But We are humbly of opinion, that, at this time of

day, neither of those Parties have the Game in their hands, as they have formerly perhaps fancied to themselves. But they who shall be so honest, and so wise, constantly to prefer the true Interest of *England* to that of any other Country or People, preserve the Religion and the Laws, protect and promote the Trade of the Nation, thriftily and providently administer the public Treasure, and study to maintain the Sovereignty of our Seas, so naturally, so anciently, and so justly the true defence of this Kingdom; that Body, whomsoever it shall be composed of, shall have the Weight of *England* on it's side; and if there can be any of another frame, they must, in the end, prove so many miserable rotten Reeds.

Well may other Princes and States, whose Situation requires it for their own Security, find it their Interest, for the preservation of their Credit and Reputation amongst their Neighbours, to keep constantly in pay great Numbers of Land-Forces; in which they are still vying one with the other, and boasting who can raise his Thousands, and who his ten Thousands: but they will be found but Young States-men for our Government, who can think it advisable, that the Strength of this Island should be measured by Proportions so unsuitable to it's true Glory, and Greatness. As well might *David* have thought it requisite, when he was to encounter the great Giant of the *Philistines*, that He likewise must have had a Staff to his Spear like a Weaver's Beam. But that *Man after God's own heart* thought it more expedient to his advantage over the Enemy he was to contend with, to come against him with Arms that

he had tried, and that he could wield. When *Saul* armed him with his own Armor, and put an *Helmet of Brass* on his head, and armed him with a *Coat of Mail*, David himself says, *He could not go with these, for he had not proved them.* Which makes us a little reflect on the circumstances of our own Nation, That, whereas the Fleet of *England* hath been Renowned, through so many Ages, for the Honor and Security of this Kingdom, in these latter days, by an unaccountable improvidence, our care has been more industriously applied to the raising great Numbers of Land-Forces, than in Maintaining and Supporting the glorious Ancient Bulwarks of our Country; and when We have to do with an Enemy, whom We so far excel in strength at Sea, that, with a little more than ordinary application, We might hope to restrain his Exorbitant Power by our Naval Expeditions, We have employed our greatest Industry, and a vast Expence, to attack him by Land in that part, where, by the strength of his numerous Garrisons, he must be, for many Years, at least, invulnerable.

But it is to be hoped the Great Allies themselves, to whom, We doubt not, the *English* Nation wishes all Happiness and Prosperity, as being bound up with them in the same Interest, will at last be sensible, that this Kingdom cannot be useful to the Common Cause in any other way, so much as at Sea. The situation of this Country adapts it for Advantages by Sea: The Trade of it enables it to go on with a War by Sea: And neither of them can long bear a great Expence of a War in a Foreign Land: The experience of former Successes at Sea

makes the Nation ever fond of employing it's Vigor *there*: and the perpetual jealousy that, some time or other, Endeavours may be used, by the increase of Land-Forces, to advance another Greatness, and another Interest, will fix the Genius of the Nation still to depend on it's Greatness, and it's Security by Sea.

Suadere Principi quod oporteat, magni laboris ; affectatio erga Principem quemcunque sine affectu peragitur, was a saying of *Tacitus*, and one of those that is perpetually verified. For We see, in all times, how Compliance and Flattery get the better of Honesty, and plain Dealing. All Men indeed love best those that dispute not with them; a Misfortune, whilst it is amongst private Persons, that is not so much taken notice of; but it becomes remarkable, and grows a public Calamity, when this uncomely obsequiousness is practised towards great Princes, who are apt to mistake it for Duty, and to prefer it before such Advice as is really good for their Service; at least till the folly, and vanity of such proceedings come to be seen through; and then the reward of their unseasonable Courtship frequently overtakes the miserable Authors, though the discovery come too late to preserve from ruin the Master, who hath been deluded.

An Eminent Poet of our own Nation calls this Flattery the food of Fools; and yet it is a Plant so guarded and fenced about, so cherished and preserved in all Courts, that it never fails of bringing forth much wretched fruit; and will ever do so, till God Almighty shall send such a discerning Spirit into the hearts of Princes, as may enable them to

distinguish between those, that serve to obtain their own Ends, and those, who have only in their View the true Interest, and Honor of their Masters; and to punish, instead of encouraging, those bold Corrupters of all right Judgment, Justice, Honesty, and Truth.

If at any time it might be hoped this dangerous Generation of Men should be discountenanced, one might be allowed to look for it in an Age, when a Revolution hath been thought necessary to make a Reformation: For where the Foundations of the Earth were taken to be out of Course, more steadiness, a stricter Virtue, and a more unblamable Administration will be expected to come in the Room of it.

If Princes would bear it, it would be an Advantage to Them, as well as Happiness to their Subjects, to hear plain and bold Truths, when delivered with Duty, and Decency, and Privacy, from their faithful Servants, in their own life-time; whilst they might yet redress, and correct any mistakes of their Judgment, or Will. But because they generally defend themselves from those Approaches by their Greatness, and the Awe they usually strike on those that come near them, the next best way to incline them to reflect duly upon themselves, is to get them to read the Memorials of Times past: Where They will see how those who have once Governed the World, are treated, when they are dead and gone; and that it is the Privilege, and Practice of all present Ages, to speak without restraint of those that are past: As, We may be confident, the next that comes

comes after this We live in, will not forget to put their Stamp, and their Censure, on what they shall judge good, or bad, in any part of it. And this truth will be allowed in all times, that a great King, who is known to Govern in his own Person, who is not managed by his Ministers, but does Himself give the direction, the life, and determination to all his Commands, as he ought to have the Glory, and the Merit of his Conduct and Skill, brought to his own Account without a Rival, so he will have the Misfortune of having the errors of his Reign, if any there be, imputed likewise to Himself.

We have been led, from one step to another, farther than the scope of a Preface to this History might properly have drawn Us, were it not that the observation of the miscarriages in former Times, continued down by degrees, as we conceive, from the like mistake, and the like root of animosity and discontent, had engaged us to make some Remarks on the most eminent of them, and to lay them together in one view, for every Man's calm Judgement and Animadversion, as the best means, in our Opinion, to prevent any such for the future. Which makes Us hope the Reader will not be offended with some Excursions, upon publishing such a Work, that hath so much of Information and Instruction in it, that it must furnish to every one great variety of Reflections; and, amongst others, the observation of this particular, and almost continual Misfortune to all Princes, who are apt to think that, out of the great Numbers of their Subjects, and the Crowd of their Courtiers and Flatterers,

they can never want a supply of just and faithful Servants; which makes them so little value, and so often throw away their best and ablest Ministers; whereas there is in truth nothing so difficult for a Prince, as to find a good, honest, just, well tempered, and impartial Servant; and it is almost impossible to preserve him long. For whosoever comes to the Yoke of true painful drudgery in his Master's Service, from that moment creates to himself so many industrious Enemies, as he cannot gratify in all their several wild pretensions, to displace and destroy him. So that such a Man's Station must be extreme slippery, and his favor oftentimes short-lived, whose whole time being taken up in promoting the solid greatness of his Master, and the good of his Country, he cannot have leisure to take care of Himself. For whilst he is watching the Enemies of the State, and laying Foundations for the happiness of future Times, as well as for the security of the present, and looking after all the Parts of the Administration; that the Religion of the Land may be Reverenced; the Justice of the Nation Unblemished; the Revenues of the Crown carefully and honestly collected, and distributed with an equal hand of Generosity and good Husbandry, according to the several occasions that may require either; How can such a Minister be watching the secret Machinations of the Envious, and Underminers of his Credit and Honesty? And therefore he may be forgiven, if, being conscious to himself of his own Integrity towards the Public, he contemns the little Arts of ill designing Men; by which however, from the first hour of his entering into the Service of his Master,

he is continually pursued, till he is at length hunted down, and unavoidably destroyed at Court.

We do not intend here to write the particulars of the Life of this Author; but We may say in short, that such a figure as is here described of a great and Superior Minister, and, in some degree, of a Favorite too, this excellent Man made, for about two years after the Restoration of the King his Master, who during that time, relied entirely on his Advice, and Conduct. There were indeed some other Great and Wise men, whom the King, for some considerable time, consulted in his weightiest Affairs. There was the Earl of *Southampton*, then Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, with whom our Author had always an entire and fast Friendship, and whom all Men, that knew him, honored for his great Abilities, and eminent Integrity. There was the Duke of *Albemarle*, then Lord General, who had the honor, and good Fortune of bringing most things, and Men, at that time to bear together, for the Restoration of that King, and the Royal Family to the Seat of their Ancestors. There was the then Marquis of *Ormond*, soon after his Majesty's Return made Lord Steward of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; who had not only followed, but even graced his Master's Fortunes, in all the time of his Exile, with the Attendance of so eminent, and meritorious a Subject; who had often ventured his Person, and lost all his Large Estate in the steady pursuit of Loyalty and Duty to the Crown, and Zeal for the true Religion. There was the Earl of *Sandwich*, who had, when Admiral, and General at Sea, to his share

the glorious part of bringing the Fleet of *England*; and the Body of the English Sea-men, to concur in the King's Restoration; and had, before that time, been very meritorious towards his Majesty, as is mentioned at large in the ensuing parts of this History. These were the principal; and besides these, there was one more, who, though in a different rank, was admitted, at that time, into the most intimate Trust and Confidence, Old Secretary *Nicholas*; who had served his two Masters, King *Charles* the first and second, with so much Faithfulness and Integrity, as to be justly entitled to a part in the most important Administration. But, without the least design of detracting from the Credit or Interest of these great, and honorable Persons, We may truly say, our Author had the preference of them all in the King's Favor and Esteem; and by his prudence, knowledge, and experience, in which he shared with the others, and his Indefatigable Labor and Pains, wherein, it is most certain, they did not share with Him, he had the Happiness, without their Envy, and with their Concurrence, to have the greatest share in disposing the minds of the People, and the King too, to agree then on such measures in Parliament, as laid the foundation of that Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity this Nation hath enjoyed since.

He had the Happiness to have the greatest share in preserving the Constitution of our Government entire, when the then present Temper of the People, was but too ready to have gone into any undue compliance with the Crown.

He had the happiness, amongst several other good

Acts of Parliament, to have the greatest share in compassing and perfecting the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity; the Act for confirming Judicial Proceedings; and the Act of Uniformity; by which the People of *England* were quieted in their Minds, and settled in their Possessions; and the Church of *England* redeemed from the oppressions it had lain under, and established and set up by the Law of the Land, as it was also by our blessed Savior's promise to all those that serve him in Holiness and Truth, on that Rock, against which the Gates of Hell were not to prevail. This is that Church, which desires to have her Doctrine understood, as well as obeyed; and which depends on the Infallibility of Scripture for her Guide; but never could be drawn to allow it to any Mortal Men, whether in a single Person, or a greater Number; and which, of all the Churches in the World, does most rationally inform her Members in the Practice of pure Religion and undefiled towards God, with Decency in Worship, without Affectation, Superstition, or Ostentation; and Obedience to the King, with due Regard to the Constitution, and the Laws of the Land. By God's blessing on these means, our Author had the happiness to leave lasting Monuments of his Judgment, and his Piety; of his Loyalty to his Prince, and his entire Love to his Country.

It was during the Ministry of this Person, and whilst he was in his greatest Credit, that memorable Expression was used, in one of King *Charles* the second's Speeches to both Houses: That in all his Deliberations and Actions, his principal Considera-

tion should be, What will a Parliament think of them?

Every Body then knew, by whose Advice that King was inclined to make that wise Declaration. And certainly it had been happy for him, if he had always practised it; and all *England* hath reason to wish, that all Ministers had continued, to this day, to give the like wholesome Counsel.

Hæ tibi erunt Artes,

Said our Author, to a King of *England*: Keep always well with your Parliaments. Let no vain whimsey of the Example of other Countries, but utterly impracticable in this, delude you. Keep always in the true Interest of the Nation; and a King of *England* is the greatest, and happiest Prince in the World.

How this Person came first to lessen in his Credit, and afterwards, in the space of about five Years, to fall quite out of that King's Favor, to be Disgraced, as the Language at Court is, and Banished, must be a little touched; and We shall make an end. They who were then most concerned in his Misfortunes, and felt the most sensible strokes of his Majesty's displeasure in their Family, have it not in their hearts to lay any thing hard at the Door of that King, once a most gracious, and indulgent Master to our Author, and who was certainly not of a Disposition to do harsh things to any Body; and who, as We have Reason to believe, out of the sense of unkind Usage to the Father, did afterwards, by his own singular Goodness and Favor, much against the mind of some in Credit with him, draw his two Sons, who yet Sur-

vive, into a very great degree of Trust, and Confidence near him; and particularly bestowed on the second, extraordinary marks of Honor and Bounty, that are to descend to his Posterity.

We take them both to be Men of so much Piety to their Father, and so much Spirit in themselves, that they would by no means be bribed to omit any thing upon this Occasion, that might be of Use or Advantage to the Honor of one they owe so much Duty to; if they could conceive, that there was need, at this time of day, to contribute to the Justification of his Innocency. The World hath lasted long enough, since the Misfortunes of this Honorable Person, to be thoroughly convinced, that there was nothing in all those Articles Exhibited against him in Parliament, that did in the least touch or concern him. One of his Sons, then of the House of Commons, offered in that House, that if they who accused him, would but take the Pains to prove to the House any one of the Articles, and take which they would, if they made out but any one of them all, Himself, and all his Friends, would acknowledge him guilty of all.

But there is no need now of the Vindication of such a Man, whom every Body, in their Consciences, do not only acquit of any Crime, but all Good Men speak of with Honor; and who still lives in the opinion of all true *English* Men, in as high a Reputation as any Man to this day.

Yet, although We intend to decline all manner of Reflection on the Memory of that King, We may be allowed to say, That that excellently well natured Prince, who did very few ill natured things in his

Reign, was prevailed upon, in this case, not only to put out of his Service one of the most Faithful and Ancient Servants then alive to his Father, or Himself (which is not to be so much complained of; for it would be a hard Tie indeed for a Prince to be, as it were, Married to his Servants for better, for worse) but to consent to an Act of Parliament, that obliged this his poor Servant to end his days in Banishment, with old Age and Infirmities to attend him: This might be thought a little hard-hearted to inflict upon a Man, who had the Honor and Happiness, in the more vigorous part of his Life, to have led the King himself through his own Exile, with Credit and Dignity, and in more Honor and Reputation, than usually attends Unfortunate Princes, that are deprived of their own Dominions; and at last, in the fulness of God's own Time, had the Happiness to have so considerable a share in the Conduct of his Restoration. For it was by this Author principally, that the continual correspondence was kept up with the Loyal Party in *England*, in order to cultivate good thoughts of his Majesty in the minds of his People, and to bring them, in some sort, acquainted with his Temper and Disposition, before they could know his Person. This Author likewise framed, disposed, and drew those Letters and Declarations from *Breda*, which had so wonderful an Effect all over *England*, and were so generally approved here, that they were, almost all, turned into Acts of Parliament.

Many perhaps may not unreasonably believe, that the Marriage of the then Duke of *York* with the Daughter of this Author might have been one great occasion, if not the Foundation of his Fall; and

though it be most undoubtedly true, that this very unequal Alliance was brought to pass entirely without the knowledge, or Privy of this Author, but so much the contrary, that when the King, at that time, made him more than ordinary expressions of his Grace to him, with assurances that this Accident should not lessen the Esteem, and Favor his Majesty had for him; yet his own good Judgment made him immediately sensible, and declare it too, to those he was intimate with, that this must certainly be the occasion of the diminution of his Credit.

The continual dropping of Water does not more infallibly make a hollow in a Stone, than the perpetual Whispers of ill Men must make impression in the heart of any Prince, that will always lie open to hear them; nor can any Man's mind be sufficiently guarded from the influence of continued Calumny, and Backbiting.

When the Duke of *York* had made this Marriage, it was not unnatural to those ill minded Men to suggest, that, for the time to come, that Minister would be contriving Advantages for the good of his own Posterity, to the prejudice of his Sovereign, and Master. What their wickedness, possibly, would have allowed Them to practice, was ground enough to them for an Accusation of His Innocency.

It was true, that the Duke of *York* was become the Chancellor's Son in Law; and therefore they hoped to be believed, when they said, that to satisfy his Ambition, he would forfeit his Integrity; which, God knows, was not true.

Thus what *Tacitus* observes in the time of *Tiberius*, of *Granius Marcellus*, who was informed against to

have spoken ill words of that Emperor, was here, in some sort, verified on our Author :

Inevitable crimen, says Tacitus concerning those words, *nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur.*

The Alliance was undeniable; there were Children born of it; and the King was not blessed with any from his Marriage. An inevitable Crime laid in our Author. For, because it was true, that there were Children from one Marriage, and not from the other, it was suggested, that both Marriages had been so contrived by the Chancellor: though the King knew very well, that his own Marriage had not been first projected, or proposed by this Author; and that he had often told his Majesty, what suspicions there were in the World, that that Great and Virtuous Princess might prove unfruitful.

Another inevitable Misfortune, which was then laid as a Crime too on our Author, was a Report very falsely, but very industriously spread abroad, that first begat a Coldness, and, by degrees, very much disinclined a great many of the Royal Party to him; a Report, that he should have instilled into the King's mind a Principle, that he must prefer his Enemies, and advance Them, to gain them to be his Friends; and for his Old Friends, it was no matter how he used Them, for They would be so still. To which very scandalous misrepresentation We must give this true Answer:

It fell out indeed, that every Man's Expectation, that had labored all the heat of the day in the Vine-yard, who had received Wounds in their Persons in the day of Battle, or suffered in their Fortunes or Liberties, for the preservation of a good Conscience during the

Usurpation of Tyranny and Anarchy, was not, and, alas! could not, be recompensed immediately according to their Merit, or the Hopes they had entertained: And because it was true that they were disappointed, it was believed by some of them, that our Author, being Minister at that time, had instilled this damnable Doctrine and Position, that it was no matter how the King used his Old Friends: and because it was true that they were not considered as they deserved, it must be believed, as they would have it, that He was the Author of that Advice.

It was true that the King, who was so wonderfully Restored with all that Glory and Peace, more perhaps upon the confidence of his Declarations and Promises from *Breda*, than any other Human means, and who had thought it necessary to recommend, in his most gracious Speech to both Houses, upon the passing the Act of Indemnity, that all marks of distinction and division amongst his Subjects, should be for ever buried and forgotten, did not think it for his Honor, and true Interest, to Reign over a Party only of his Subjects; and therefore, immediately after his Restoration, in order to the Settlement of his Court, and Family, the then Earl of *Manchester*, whose part every body remembered to have been very Eminent, in the time of the Rebellion, against King *Charles* the First, but who had industriously applied himself several years to the King, to make reparation for his former Errors, and had been considerably serviceable to him in several occasions, was Honored with the Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household; to let the Kingdom see, how the King Himself began with practising what he exhorted his Subjects to, that

admirable Art of Forgetfulness, when he put Such a Person into so Eminent a Station in the Government, near his own Person. And it was certainly of Advantage to the King, in the beginning of his Settlement here, as well as a Mark of Justice in his Nature, to let his Subjects know and feel, that every one of them might capacitate himself, by his future behaviour, for any Dignity and Preferment.

But it could never be in the Heart of a Man, who had been all along on the Suffering side, to do his own Party so base an Office with the King, as this false Report did insinuate. He might be of opinion that the fatted Calf was to be killed, for the entertainment of the Prodigal Son, whenever he returned; that there might be no distinction of Parties kept up amongst Us; but he could never forget the Birthright of the Eldest Son, who have served the King so many Years, and had not at any time transgressed his Commandment, and so well deserved that praise, and that reward, *Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.* And yet this Calumny, false as it was, was another inevitable Crime, or at least Misfortune. For without that opinion, which some of the Royal Party had sucked in, that the Chancellor had abandoned their Interest, it had been impossible to have engaged a Majority in that Parliament, to have consented to that Act of Banishment.

God forgive the Inventors and Contrivers of that foul Calumny: But, by his Almighty Providence, who from Heaven reveals Secrets, it was not long before that Party was disabused. For, though the Chancellor, for some time, bore the blame, that they had not been more considered, it was quickly found,

that it was not from Him, but from the mistaken Politics of the new Statesmen, that they were designed to be neglected. Nor did they at all find themselves more taken notice of, after his Removal; nor have the several other Parties in the Kingdom, that have been cherished, and countenanced in opposition to this, much declined, as We conceive, to this day.

But after all, We are humbly of opinion, that it was neither of these above mentioned unavoidable Misfortunes, nor both together, that gave the fatal, and last decisive blow to the fortune of this good Man. The King had too good a Judgment, and was too well natured, to have been imposed upon barely by such attacks as these; which he knew very well himself, as to our Author's guilt in them, were Frivolous and Unjust.

But there are always in Courts secret Engines, that Actually consummate the Mischiefs, that others, in a more public way, have been long in bringing to pass: And in this case there were two principal ones:

The One, the Interest of some of the Zealots of the Popish Party, who knew this Minister had too much Credit in the Nation, though he should lose it with the King, to suffer the Projects, they perpetually had, of propagating their Religion, to take effect, whilst he should be in the Kingdom:

The Other, the Faction of the Ladies, too prevalent at that time with the King, who were afraid of such a Man's being near him, as durst talk to him, as he had several times taken the Liberty to do, of the scandal of their lives, and reprove both the Master and the Mistresses, for their public unlawful Conversations.

through all the considerable Employments of his life; and, more especially, to endeavour to keep things even between the King and the People (the everlasting labor of a faithful Servant) rather than advance his own favor, by unreasonably advancing the Prerogative on the one hand, or his credit, by courting the Popular Interest, on the other; which We heartily wish, all Men, in the highest Authority under a King of *England*, may ever remember to practice.

And whoever are acquainted with the Sons of this Noble Author, must do them this justice to own, they have often declared, that they have found themselves as well the better Christians, as the better Men, for the afflicted, as well as prosperous parts of their Father's Life; which hath taught them, to be the less surpris'd with the various turns, they have met with in the Course of their own. With Saint *Paul*, they have learnt to know how to be exalted, and how to be abased. This as Christians: And with *Horace*, who attributes more to Fortune, they have learnt to have always in their minds,

*Laudo manentem, si celeres quatit
Pennas, Resigno quæ dedit.*

And having thus glorified God on high, that they may do all in them lies, towards promoting Peace on Earth, they do very heartily declare, and profess good Will towards all Men; and bear no unkindness to any that were the Contrivers of the undeserved Misfortunes of their Noble Father.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO Your Majesty is most humbly Dedicated this Second Part of the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, written by Edward Earl of Clarendon. For to whom so naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the times of Your Royal Grandfather, be addressed, as to Yourself; now wearing, with Lustre and Glory, that Crown, which, in those unhappy days, was treated with so much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the Dust?

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into Your presence, by the advantage of the favorable reception, the First hath met with in the World; since it is not to be doubted, but the same truth, fairness, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the History, will meet with the same Candor from all equal Judges.

It is true, some few Persons, whose Ancestors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surviving posterity, have been offended at some particulars, mentioned in this History, concerning so near Relations, and would have them pass for mistaken Informations. But it is to be hoped, that such a concern of Kindred for their Families, though not blamable in them, will rather appear partial on Their side; since it cannot be doubted, but this Author must have had his materials from undeniable, and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to insert any thing but the truth in a work of this nature, which was designed to remain to Posterity, as a faithful record of Things and Persons in those times, and of his own unquestionable sincerity in the representation of them.

In this assurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to Your Majesty to be here informed of the fatal and undeserved misfortunes of one of Your Ancestors, with the particular and sad occasions of them; the better to direct Your Royal Person through the continual uncertainties of the Greatness of this World. And as Your Majesty cannot have a better Guide, throughout the whole Course of Your Reign, for the good Administration of Your Government, than History in

* Prefixed to the second volume of the folio-edition.

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general, so there cannot be a more useful one to Your Majesty than this of Your own Kingdoms; and it is presumed, without lying under the imputation of misleading Your Majesty, it may be asserted that no Author could have been better instructed, and have known more of the Times and Matters of which he writes, than this who is here presented to You.

Your Majesty may depend upon his Relations to be true in Fact; and You will find his Observations just; his Reflections made with judgment and weight; and his Advices given upon wise and honest Principles; not capable of being now interpreted as subservient to any Ambition or Interest of his own; and having now out-lived the Prejudices and Partialities of the Times in which they were Written. And Your Majesty thus Elevated, as by God's blessing You are, from whom a great many Truths may be industriously concealed, and on whom a great many wrong Notions under false Colors may with equal care be Obtruded, will have the greater Advantage from this faithful Remembrancer.

This author, once a Privy-Counsellor and Minister to two Great Kings, and, in a good degree, Favorite to one of Them, hath some pretence to be admitted into Your Majesty's Council too, and may become capable of doing You Service also; whilst the Accounts he gives of Times past, come seasonably to guide You through the Times present, and those to come.

This History may lie upon Your Table unenvied, and Your Majesty may pass hours and days in the perusal of it, when, possibly, They who shall be the most useful in Your Service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing Your Actions, and engrossing Your Time.

From this History Your Majesty may come to know more of the nature, and temper of Your own People, than hath yet been observed by any other hand. Neither can any Living Conversation lay before Your Majesty in one view, so many Transactions necessary for Your observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect Experience in the Conduct of Affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to Your Majesty's Government, if it may have been concealed from You in the Circumstances of Your Private Life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where Your Majesty will find the true Constitution of Your Government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before You, as well as the Mistakes that were committed in the management of both.

Here Your Majesty will see how both those Interests are

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inseparable, and ought to be preserved so, and how fatal it hath proved to both, whenever, by the Artifice and Malice of wicked and self-designing Men, they have happened to be divided. And though Your Majesty will see here, how a Great King lost his Kingdoms, and at last his Life, in the Defence of this Church, You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better Friends to Monarchy than to true Religion, that his Calamities were brought upon Him; and as it was the method of those Men to take exceptions first to the Ceremonies and outward Order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very Being and Foundation, so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly designed, till they had first overturned the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, That the Monarchy of *England* is not now capable of being Supported, but upon the Principles of the Church of *England*; from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly United together is the likeliest way for Your Majesty to Reign happily over Your Subjects.

The Religion by Law Established is such a Vital part of the Government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally Men look upon it as a good part of their Property too; since that, and the Government of the Church, is secured to them by the same provision. So that it seems that, next to Treason against Your Sacred Person, an Invasion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by those who have the Honor to be trusted in the Public Administration, with the strictest Care and Diligence, as the best way to preserve Your Person and Government in their just Dignity and Authority.

Amongst all the observations, that may be made out of this History, there seems none more Melancholic, than that, after so much misery and desolation brought upon these Kingdoms by that unnatural Civil War, which hath yet left so many deep and lamentable marks of it's Rage and Fury, there have hitherto appeared so few signs of Repentance and Reformation.

Some Persons will see, they are designed to be excepted out of this Remark, whose Conduct hath happily made amends for the mistakes of their Ancestors, and whose practice in the Stations they are now in, does sufficiently distinguish them. Happy were it for the Nation, had all the rest thought fit to follow so good Examples, and that either Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, or Acts of Grace and Favor, or Employments

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of Authority, Riches, and Honor, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good Subjects. The truth of this observation is set forth by this Author in so lively a manner, that one hath frequent occasions to look on him as a Prophet as well as a Historian, in several particulars mentioned in this Book.

That this Remark may not look froward or angry, with great submission to Your Majesty, it may be considered, what can be the meaning of the several Seminaries, and as it were Universities, set up in divers parts of the Kingdom, by more than ordinary Industry, contrary to Law, supported by large contributions; where the Youth is bred up in Principles directly contrary to Monarchical and Episcopal Government? What can be the meaning of the constant Solemnizing by some Men, the Anniversary of that dismal Thirtieth of *January*, in scandalous and opprobrious Feasting and Jestings, which the Law of the Land hath Commanded to be perpetually observed in Fasting and Humiliation? If no sober Man can say any thing in the defence of such Actions, so destructive to the very Essence of the Government, and yet impossible to be conducted without much Consultation and Advice, it is hoped this Reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill natured Spirit, but from a dutiful and tender regard to the good of the Nation, and the prosperity of Your Majesty's Reign.

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an industrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the last Age, and on that score render it necessary that Your Majesty should have an Eye toward such unaccountable Proceedings, is humbly submitted to Your Majesty; who will make a better judgment upon the whole than any others can suggest to You: You have a greater Interest to do it; You have much more to preserve, and much more to lose; You have the happiness of Your Kingdoms, Your Crown, and Your Government to secure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very Expensive War at present, and some circumstances attending it in relation to these Nations, that may continue even after a Peace; besides the danger of a future Separation of the two Kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have Influence upon the present times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give Your Majesty a safe and prosperous passage through so many appearances of Hazard; You can never want Undertakers of divers sorts, who, according to their several Politics,

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will warrant You Success if You will trust them : But Your real happiness will very much depend upon Yourself, and Your chusing to Honor with Your Service such Persons as are Honest, Stout, and Wise.

If Informations of times past may be useful, this Author will deserve a share of Credit with You, whose Reputation and Experience were so great in his Life-time, that they will be Recorded in times to come for the real Services he did, besides the Honor, and great Fortune, unusual to a Subject, of having been Grand-father to two great Queens, Your Royal Sister and Your-Self; both so well beloved, and esteemed by Your People, both so willing, and Zealous to do Good. Her power indeed was more limited and dependent; but Her early Death made room for Your Majesty's more unrestrained and Sovereign Authority, and resigned to Your-Self alone the more lasting dispensation of those Blessings that came from Heaven to You both.

If the benefit Your Majesty may reap by the perusal of this History, shall prove serviceable to after-times, it will be remembered to the praise and honor of his Name; and Your Majesty Yourself will not be displeased to allow his Memory a share of that advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that Your *English* Heart, so happily owned by Yourself, and Adored by Your Subjects, had not been so *Entirely English*, without a communication with His Heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his Country and the firm Establishment of the Crown.

It being designed by this Dedication only to Introduce this Noble Author into Your Presence, it would be contrary to the Intention of it to take up more of Your Majesty's time here; it is best therefore to leave this faithful Counsellor alone with You. For God's sake, Madam, and Your own, be pleased to read Him with attention, and serious and frequent Reflections; and from thence, in Conjunction with Your own Heart, prescribe to Your-Self the methods of true and lasting Greatness, and the solid Maxims of a Sovereign truly *English*: That during this Life, You may exceed in Felicities and Fame, and after this Life, in Reputation and Esteem, that Glorious Predecessor of Your Majesty's, the Renowned First *Semper Eadem*, whose Motto You have chosen, and whose Pattern You seem to have taken for Your great Example, to Your own Immortal Glory, and the Defence, Security, and Prosperity of the Kingdoms You Govern.

And God grant You may do so long.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all Duty and Submission comes into the world the last part of this History under Your Majesty's Protection; a just Tribute to Your Majesty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, so long engaged, and so usefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work itself, so worthily memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and so instructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is completely published, relates the Transactions of near twenty years: hardly to be paralleled in any other time, or place for the wonderful turns, and passages in it. In this space of time, Your Majesty sees Your own Country at the highest pitch of happiness and prosperity, and the lowest degree of adversity and misery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and his Memory over all the Occurrences of those Times, he seems to be under the power of some Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the Relations of so many surprising Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody desolation of it by a most wicked Rebellion, the ruin of so many noble and great Families, and the devastation of their Estates; and, after this, the Restitution of all things *as at the beginning*, is hardly credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.

When Your Majesty sees one of Your Royal Ancestors, the first who lived to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honor, and Power, than any of his Predecessors, brought, by unaccountable Administrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandoned by most of his Servants, whom he had himself raised to the greatest Honors, and Preferments; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able Counsellor about him, to whom he could *breathe his Conscience and Complaints*, and from whom he might expect one honest, sound, disinterested Advice: after this, how he was obliged to take up Arms,

* Prefixed to the third volume of the folio-edition,

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and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and merciless Men, Imprisoned, Arraigned, Condemned, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this still, when Your Majesty sees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful Insolence, till these very Men by force, and fraud, and sundry artifices, still getting the better of one another, brought all Government into such Confusion and Anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the Generality of the People, and their Representatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exercise of it as any of his Predecessors had ever enjoyed; not subject to any of those Treaties, or Conditions, which had been so often offered by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: When Your Majesty sees before You all this begun, and carried on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Restoration, within the space of twenty years, by *Englishmen* alone amongst themselves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the same hands joining in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Destruction of their Country, Your Majesty will certainly say,

This was the Lord's doing, and it must ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be published in Your Majesty's time, it is humbly conceived not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, such a History of the greatest Matters, passed within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the necessity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unsettled and various management of the public Affairs, to put Men in mind again of those mischiefs under which so many great Men fell on both sides, as in hopes, that on Your Majesty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have universally received with joy, this Generation may be inclined to let these fresh examples of Good and Evil sink into their minds, and make the deeper impression in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

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From the Year 1660 to very near 1685, which was the time of King *Charles the Second's* Reign here in *England*, it must needs be owned, that, with all the very good Understanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Counsels, and great vicissitudes of good and bad Events, almost throughout that space of time attending his Government. They seem indeed to be somewhat like the four Seasons of the Year; of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flourishing, and gay; but there come as constantly severe Winters, that freeze, wither, destroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It must be owned too, since it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Restoration, there was, certainly, not such a Return to God Almighty for the wonderful Blessings he had poured out with so liberal a hand, as, no doubt was due to the great Author and Giver of all that Happiness: neither was there such a prudence in the Administration, or such a steadiness in the conduct of Affairs, as the fresh Experience of the foregone misfortunes might well have forewarned those that were intrusted in it, to have pursued with Courage and Constancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulness of God, as well as manifest Mistakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for such undutifulness, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign, were attended with more fatal Miscarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable Errors; and the greater they are, so many more particular Persons are usually involved in the Calamity.

What followed after this time, till Your Majesty's most happy coming to the Throne, is so fresh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be best able to make his own observations upon it. Such Deliverances have their pangs in the Birth, that much weaken the Constitution, in endeavouring to preserve, and amend it.

And now Your Majesty, who succeeds to a Revolution, as well as a Restoration, has the advantage of a retrospect on all these Accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in those times: and whatsoever was wanting, at those opportunities of amending past Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better establishment of the Crown, and the security of the true old *English* Government, it will be

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Your Majesty's happiness to supply in Your time : a time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Restoration : for in that time, as now in Your Majesty's, the People of this Kingdom ran cheerfully into obedience ; the chiefest Offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own Crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them ; and all Your Subjects went out to meet Your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.

Comparisons of Times may be as odious as that of Persons ; and therefore no more shall be said here on that Subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulness of past Miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these Kingdoms, as that on which we saw Your Majesty so happily seated upon the Throne of Your Ancestors. Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which *Virgil* remarks as a felicity in the time of *Augustus*.

When abroad the Sovereign is prosperous, and at home does govern Subjects willing to obey :

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindness that draws them, to their duty ; and makes them rejoice under the Laws by which they are governed. Such was certainly the time of Your Majesty's first Entrance ; and such God grant it may be ever.

The two first Volumes of this History have laid before Your Majesty the original causes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War ; the contrivances, designs, and consultations in it ; and the miserable events of it ; and seemed to have finished the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the ninth Book, says, that from that time there remained no possibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field. And when there is an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less warm.

But it happens in the Course of this History, that several new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them, are opened in this Volume ; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding useful, even in those parts, where, by reason of the sadness of the Subject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both useful and delightful.

Your Majesty especially, who must have Your heart perpetually intent to see what followed in the close of all those Wars, and by what means and methods the loss of all that noble and innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of

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the Royal Stream then spilt, was recompensed upon Their heads who were the wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at last the miseries of these Nations, and the sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recovered by God Almighty's own unerring hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertained in this Volume with the Relation of the secret steps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he still seemed openly to have forsaken his own oppressed Cause; wherein so much of what was dearest to Yourself was so highly concerned.

Of the Transactions within these Kingdoms, soon after the War was ended, especially just before, and after the barbarous Murder of the Blessed King, this Author could have but short and imperfect informations abroad. It cannot therefore justly be expected, that he should be so full, or minute in many circumstances relating to the actions and consultations of that Party here at home, as are to be found in some other Writers, whose business it was to intend only such matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wished, that he had given the world a more distinct, and particular Narrative of that pious King's last most magnanimous sufferings in his Imprisonments, Trial, and Death. But it seems the remembrance of all those deplorable passages was so grievous, and insupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhorred the dwelling long upon them, and chose rather to contract the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compass. But this is a loss that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the History brings Your Majesty to what the noble Writer esteemed one of his principal businesses in this Volume, to attend King *Charles* the Second, and his two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wanderings, which take up a considerable share of it, and are most accurately and knowingly described by him, as having been a constant Witness of most of them, it is presumed, This part may give Your Majesty equal satisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleasant to Your Majesty, since You have known so well the happy conclusion of it, to see the banished King under his long adverse Fortune, and how many Years of trouble and distress he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.

In that disconsolate time of distress and lowness of his Fortune, Your Majesty will find cause to observe, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea; so inseparable are such indecent and unchristian contentions from all Communities of Men: They are like *Tares sown by an Enemy amongst the Wheat, whilst good men sleep.*

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Upon the Subject of the Factions in those days, there is a particular passage in this History, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very industrious in prosecuting this Author with unjust and false Accusations. And the Author himself observes, that, howsoever, those Parties seemed, on most other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compass His destruction; and for no other reason, that ever appeared, but his being an unwearied Assertor of the Church of *England's* Cause, and a constant Friend and Servant to the true Interest of it; to which either of Them was really more irreconcilable, than they were to each other, whatsoever they pretended.

This passage seems to deserve a particular reflection, because, within few Years after that King's Restoration, some of both those Parties joined again in attacking this noble Author, and accusing him anew of the very same pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been so much malice showed on one side, and so much natural and irresistible innocence appeared on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the same Quiver, could have been enough envenomed to have hurt so faithful, so constant, and so tried a Servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majesty will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Master, upon the occasion of his being much pressed to go to Church to *Charenton*, and how some Intrigues, and Snares, cunningly laid on one side, were very plainly and boldly withstood on the other by this Author, will let the World see, why this Man was by any means to be removed, if his Adversaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually crossing their mischievous designs, by an habitual course of adhering unmoveably to the Interest of this Church and Nation.

In the progress of this Book, Your Majesty will also find some very near that King whilst he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and desperate circumstances of his Fortune, to persuade him, that the Party who had Fought for his Father, was an insignificant, a despicable, and undone Number of Men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marrying some Roman Catholic Lady, who might engage those of that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majesty's Interest; Others at the same time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as most able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while persisted, in the integrity

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of his Soul, to use that credit his faithfulness and truth had gained him, to convince the King, that Foreign Force was a strength not desirable for him to depend on, and, if it were suspected to be on the Interest of Popery, of all things most likely to prevent, and disappoint his Restoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his Arms ought to be stretched out to receive them all; but the old Royal Party was that his Majesty should chiefly rely on, both to assist him in his Return, and afterwards to establish his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful observer of all that had passed in the time of the Troubles; and had the opportunity to have seen the Actions, and penetrated, in a good measure, into the Consultations of those days, and was no ill judge of the Temper and Nature of Mankind; and He, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventured all for the Father, would be the truest and firmest Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgment, from his observation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all wise Men to depend most on the Service, and Affection of those who had been steady to them in their distresses; or whether a lukewarm Trimming indifferency, though sometimes dignified with the Character of Politics, did not suit with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Advise a Prince to hold a Conduct that should grieve, and disoblige his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoice. But, however his Malicious Prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the Author of such Counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Conduct weakened the hands, and tended to the Subversion of any Government. And the success has approved this judgment; for in the very inconstant, and variable Administration under that King, it was found by Experience, and to this day the Memorials of it are extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days, or more Rough and Boisterous Weather, as he favored, or discountenanced his own Party; called indeed a Party by the Enemies of it, upon a levelling Principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it, were properly but Parties; whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage-ground of being Established by the Laws, and Incorporated into the Government.

By degrees Your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the Top of some exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the

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Time past with advantage to Yourself; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles Fought, without Your part of the Danger; and, by the Experience of former Misfortunes, establish Your own Security.

It seems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wisdom in *Lucretius*; from whence he advises his Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Hurry of the World. And as that Philosophical Poet does very movingly describe the pursuits of those whom he justly styles Miserable Men, distracting themselves in wearisome Contentions about the Business and greatness of an empty World; so does this Noble Historian, with true and evident deductions from one Cause and Event to another, and such an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majesty to an easy ascent over all the knowledge of those Miserable times; from whence not in speculation only, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madness, and wickedness of those secret Contrivances, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, was brought to Desolation; and see how falsely and weakly those great and busy disturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be seeking God in every one of their Rebellious and Sinful Actions; whereas God was not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes, that seemed to shake the foundations of the World; but in the still voice of Peace he came at last, to defeat and disappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom vengeance belongs, arose, and showed himself in defence of that righteous Cause of the Crown and Church; which Your Majesty will observe to have been Combined against, Fought with, Overthrown, and in the end Raised, and Re-established together. *Now these things happened for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.*

It is now most humbly submitted to Your Majesty's judgement, whether the consideration of these matters, set forth in this History, be not the most useful prospect not for Yourself only, but Your noblest Train, Your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled.

When Your Majesty is so attended, by God's blessing, no Power on Earth will be able to disappoint Your Wisdom, or resist Your Will. And there may be need of all this Power and Authority, to preserve, and defend Your Subjects, as well as Your Crowne, from the like distractions and invasions. There may want the concurrence of a Parliament, to prevent the return of the same mischievous practices, and to restrain the madness

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of Men of the same Principles in this Age, as destroyed the last: such as think themselves even more capable than those in the last, to carry on the like wicked designs: such as take themselves to be informed, even from this History, how to mend the mistakes then committed by the principal Directors on that side, and by a more refined skill in wickedness, to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the destruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is represented to Your Majesty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will join hand in hand to assure the World there is no such thing. It is a common Cause, and it is their Interest, if they can, to persuade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of *High-Church* Inventions, that suggest such Fears, and Jealousies.

But let any impartial Person judge, to whom all the Libertines of the Republican Party are like to unite themselves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Established Government, either in Church or State, can be strengthened, or served by them. They must go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no such thing as a Republican Party in *England*, that they may be the less observed, and go on the more secure in their destructive projects.

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but *Jacobites* alarm the Nation with these Apprehensions; and that *Jacobites* are much greater Enemies than Themselves to Your Majesty. Let that be so: no Man, in his Wits, can say any thing to Your Majesty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wish the Prosperity and the Happiness of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.

But whilst these Men most falsely asperse the Sons of the Church of *England* for being *Jacobites*, let them rather clear themselves of what they were lately charged before Your Majesty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of *January*, with an execrable Solemnity of scandalous Mirth; and that they have Seminaries, and a sort of Universities, in *England*, maintained by great Contributions, where the fiercest Doctrines against Monarchical, and Episcopal Government, are taught and propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to Your Majesty's Title, Name, and Family.

This seems to be a Torrent that cannot be resisted but by the whole Legislative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually assaulting, or undermining, be supported by a less Power.

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In these difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Personal duty to Your Majesty, take themselves to be more concerned to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own just Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjustly so called, that all the Mischiefs mentioned in this History were brought upon the Kingdom.

They best can discover the Craft and Subtilty formerly used in those Consultations; which first inveigled, and drew Men in from one wickedness to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themselves not safe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a just indignation against all that Hypocrisy and Villany, by which the *English* Name, and Nation, were exposed to the Censure of the rest of the World: They only can be able to present Your Majesty with remedies proper, and adequate to all these Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Constitution of this Government Retrieved, and Supported.

There is one Calamity more, that stands in need of a Cure from Your own Sovereign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen most heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief rise from the disorderly, dissolute times of those Wars, and has monstrously increased ever since, yet was never owned so much as now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and disuse of all Religion whatsoever. And indeed what could so much feigned Sanctity, and so much real Wickedness, during that Rebellion begun in 1641, produce else in foolish Men's hearts, than to say, *There is no God?*

This Irreligion was then pretended to be covered with a more signal Morality and precise strictness in Life and Conversation, which was to be a recompence for the loss of Christianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godliness and Virtue is fled too. Atheism, and Profaneness, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a prostitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaneness and Impiety seems, next to the horrible Confusions of the late Rebellion, to have gained ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on several Accounts, been heartily affected to the support of the Church Established by Law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty against all Religion. For where the chief Advisers or Managers of Public Affairs, have inclined to alterations, which the Established Rules have not countenanced, they durst not cause the Laws to be put in Execution.

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for fear of turning the force of them on Themselves; so their next refuge has been to suffer Men to observe no Discipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of *England*, put to Nurse, as it were, sometimes to such as have been inclined to Popery, and sometimes to other Sects, and sometimes to Men indifferent to all Religion, hath been in danger of being starved, or overlit, by ail of them; and the ill consequence has redounded not only to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Professors of Christianity itself.

Whoever have ventured to give warning of these wicked designs and practices, have been rendered as Persons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclined to be favorable to the Men complained of; it has been offered on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Interest of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the consequences of them.

Thus these Mischiefs have been still growing, and no Laws have hitherto reached them; and, possibly they are become incapable of a remedy; unless Your Majesty's great Example of Piety and Virtue shall have sufficient influence to amend them: No honest Man can say it is not reasonable, and even necessary, to watch them; and that, in compallion to Your Subjects, as well as Justice to Yourself. This History hath shown Your Majesty their Fruits in the late times, by which You shall know them still; for Your Majesty well remembers Who has said, that

Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles.

That God may give Your Majesty a discerning Spirit, a wise, and understanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; that He may enable You to subdue Your Enemies Abroad by successful Counsels, and Arms, and to reduce Your Ill-willers at Home by prudent Laws, administered with the Meekness of Wisdom; that He would give You length of days in one hand, and Riches and Honor in the other; that You, in Your days may have the Glory to restore good Nature (for which the *English* Nation was formerly so celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the sincere Profession, and universal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favorable Kindness as with a Shield, against all Your Adversaries of every kind, are the Zealous, Constant, and Devout Prayers of so many Millions, that it were the highest presumption in any One Person, to subscribe a particuler Name to so Universal a Concern.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K I.

Deut. iv. 7, 8, 9.

For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?

And what Nation is there so great that hath Statutes, and Judgments so righteous as all this Law, which I set before you this day?

Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.

THAT Posterity may not be Deceived, by the prosperous Wickedness of those times of which I write, into an Opinion, that nothing less than a general Combination, and universal Apostacy in the whole Nation from their Religion, and Allegiance, could, in so short a time, have produced such a total and prodigious Alteration, and Confusion over the whole Kingdom; And that the Memory of those, who, out of Duty and Conscience, have opposed that Torrent, which did overwhelm them, may not lose the recompence due to their Virtue, but having undergone the injuries and reproaches of This, may find a vindication in a better age: it will not be useless, for the infor-

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I.

The Preface of
the Author.

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B O O K mation of the Judgment and Conscience of men;
I. to present to the world a full and clear Narration of the Grounds, Circumstances, and Artifices of this Rebellion; not only from the time since the flame hath been visible in a Civil war, but, looking farther back, from those former passages and accidents, by which the Seed-plots were made and framed, from whence those mischiefs have successively grown to the height they have since arrived at.

And in this ensuing History, though the hand and judgment of God will be very visible, in insinuating a People (as Ripe and Prepared for Destruction) into all the perverse actions of folly and madness, making the Weak to contribute to the designs of the Wicked, and suffering even those, by degrees, out of a Conscience of their Guilt, to grow more Wicked than they intended to be; letting the Wise to be imposed upon by Men of small understanding; and permitting the Innocent to be possessed with laziness and sleep in the most visible article of Danger; uniting the Ill, though of the most different Opinions, opposite Interests, and distant Affections, in a firm and constant league of Mischiefs; and dividing those, whose Opinions and Interests are the same, into Faction and Emulation, more pernicious to the Public than the Treason of the others: whilst the poor People, under pretence of zeal to Religion, Law, Liberty, and Parliaments (words of precious esteem in their just signification) are furiously hurried into actions introducing Atheism, and dissolving all the Elements of Christian Religion; cancelling all obli-

gations, and destroying all foundations of Law and Liberty; and rendering, not only the Privileges, but the very Being of Parliaments desperate and impracticable: I say, though the immediate finger and wrath of God must be acknowledged in these perplexities and distractions; yet he who shall diligently observe the distempers and conjunctures of Time, the ambition, pride, and folly of Persons, and the sudden growth of Wickedness, from want of care and circumspection in the first impressions, will find all these Miseries to have proceeded, and to have been brought upon us from the same natural causes, and means, which have usually attended Kingdoms swoln with long Plenty, Pride, and Excess, towards some signal mortification, and castigation of Heaven. And it may be, upon the consideration how impossible it was to foresee many things that have happened, and of the necessity of overlooking many other things, we may not yet find the Cure so desperate, but that, by God's mercy, the Wounds may be again bound up; and then this prospect may not make the future Peace less pleasant and durable.

I have the more willingly induced myself to this unequal task, out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that blessed end: and though a piece of this Nature (wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others, must be boldly looked upon and mentioned) is not likely to be published in the Age in which it is writ, yet it may serve to inform myself, and some others, what we ought to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have

B O O K done. For which work, as I may not be thought
 I. altogether an incompetent Person, having been
 present as a Member of Parliament in those Coun-
 cils before, and till the breaking out of the Re-
 bellion, and having since had the Honor to be near
 two great Kings in some Trust, so I shall perform
 the same with all faithfulness, and ingenuity; with
 an equal observation of the faults and infirmities of
 both sides, with their defects and oversights in pur-
 suing their own ends; and shall no otherwise men-
 tion small and light Occurrences, than as they have
 been Introductions to matters of the greatest Mo-
 ment, nor speak of Persons otherwise, than as the
 mention of their Virtues or Vices is essential to the
 work in hand: In which I shall, with truth, pre-
 serve myself from the least sharpness, that may
 proceed from private provocation, and in the whole,
 observe the rules that a Man should who deserves
 to be believed.

I shall not then lead any Man farther back in this
 journey for the discovery of the entrance into those
 dark ways, than the beginning of this King's
 Reign, For I am not so sharp-sighted as those, who
 have discerned this Rebellion contriving, from (if
 not before) the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and fo-
 mented by several Princes, and great Ministers of
 State in *Christendom*, to the time that it brake out.
 Neither do I look so far back as I do, because I
 believe the design to have been so long since for-
 med, but that by viewing the Temper, Disposi-
 tion, and Habit, at that time, of the Court and
 of the Country, we may discern the minds of Men

prepared, of some to Act, and of others to Suffer BOOK
 all that hath since happened; the Pride of this Man, I.
 and the Popularity of that; the Levity of one, and
 the Morosity of another; the Excess of the Court
 in the greatest Want; and the Parsimony and Re-
 tention of the Country in the greatest Plenty; the
 spirit of Craft and Subtlety in some, and the Un-
 polished Integrity of others, too much despising craft
 or art; all contributing jointly to this mass of Con-
 fusion now before us.

King *James* in the end of *March* 1625 died, lea- A View of the
beginning of
K. Charles I.
his Reign.
 ving his Majesty that now is, engaged in a War
 with *Spain*, but unprovided with money to manage
 it; though it was undertaken by the consent and
 advice of Parliament: the People being naturally
 enough inclined to the War (having surfeited with
 the uninterrupted Pleasures and Plenty of 22 years
 Peace) and sufficiently inflamed against the *Spaniard*;
 but quickly weary of the charge of it: and there-
 fore, after an unprosperous and chargeable attempt
 in a Voyage by Sea upon *Cadiz*, and as unsuccess-
 ful, and more unfortunate one upon *France* at the
 Isle of *Ree* (for some difference had likewise about
 the same time begotten a War with that Prince) a
 general Peace was shortly concluded with both King-
 doms; the Exchequer being so exhausted with the
 debts of King *James*, the bounty of his Majesty
 that now is (who upon his first access to the Crown,
 gave many costly instances of his favor to Persons
 near him) and the charge of the War upon *Spain*,
 and *France*, that both the known, and casual Re-
 venue being anticipated, the necessary Subsistence

BOOK of the Household was unprovided for; and the
 I. King on the sudden driven to those streights for his
 own Support, that many ways, were resorted to,
 and inconveniencies submitted to for Supply; as
 selling the Crown-Lands, creating Peers for money,
 and many other particulars, which no access of
 power, or plenty, since could repair.

Parliaments were Summoned, and again Dissol-
 ved in displeasure: and that in the fourth year (after
 the Dissolution of the two former) was determined
 with a Profession, and Declaration, that, "since
 " for several ill ends the calling again of a Parlia-
 " ment was divulged; however his Majesty had
 " showed, by his frequent meeting with his Peo-
 " ple, his love to the use of Parliaments, yet the
 " late abuse having, for the present, driven his
 " Majesty unwillingly out of that course, he
 " shall account it presumption for any to prescribe
 " any time to his Majesty for Parliaments." Which
 words were generally interpreted, as if no more
 Assemblies of that nature were to be expected,
 and that all Men were prohibited upon the penalty
 of Censure, so much as to speak of a Parliament.
 And here I cannot but let myself loose to say, that
 no Man can show me a Source, from whence those
 waters of bitterness, we now taste, have more pro-
 bably flowed, than from these unreasonable, un-
 skilful and precipitate Dissolutions of Parliaments;
 in which, by an unjust survey of the Passion, Inso-
 lence, and Ambition of particular Persons, the
 Court measured the Temper and Affection of
 the Country; and by the same standard the People

considered the Honor, Justice, and Piety of the Court; and so usually parted, at those sad seasons, with no other Respect, and Charity one toward the other, than accompanies Persons who never meant to meet but in their own Defence. In which the King had always the disadvantage to harbour Persons about him, who with their utmost Industry, false Information, and Malice, improved the faults, and infirmities of the Court to the People; and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the People suspected, if not odious to the King.

I am not altogether a stranger to the passages of those Parliaments (though I was not a Member of them) having carefully perused the Journals of both Houses, and Familiarly conversed with many who had principal parts in them. And I cannot but wonder at those Counsels, which persuaded the courses then taken; the habit and temper of Men's minds, at that time, being, no question, very applicable to the Public ends; and those ends being only discredited by the Jealousies the People entertained from the manner of the prosecution, that they were other, and worse than in truth they were. It is not to be denied, that there were, in all those Parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several Passages, and distempered Speeches of particular Persons, not fit for the Dignity, and Honor of those places, and unsuitable to the Reverence due to his Majesty and his Councils. But I do not know any formed Act of either House (for neither the Remonstrance, nor Votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the Wisdom, and Justice

B O O K of great Courts upon those extraordinary occasions.
L And whoever considers the Acts of power, and injustice of some of the Ministers, in those intervals of Parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth, and vivacity of those meetings.

In the Second Parliament there was a mention, and intention declared of granting five Subsidies, a proportion (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures now every day imposed) scarce ever before heard of in Parliament. And that Meeting being, upon very unpopular, and unplaussible Reasons, immediately Dissolved, those five Subsidies were exacted, throughout the whole Kingdom, with the same rigor, as if, in truth, an Act had passed to that purpose: divers Gentlemen of prime Quality, in several Counties of *England*, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to Prison, with great rigor and extraordinary circumstances. And could it be imagined, that those Men would meet again in a free Convention of Parliament, without a sharp, and severe expostulation, and inquiry into their own Right, and the power that had imposed upon that Right? And yet all these Provocations, and many others, almost of as large an extent, produced no other Resentment than the Petition of Right (of no prejudice to the Crown) which was likewise purchased at the price of five Subsidies more and in a very short time after that Supply granted, that Parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of Passion on all sides, Dissolved.

The abrupt, and unkind breaking off the Two first Parliaments was wholly imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*; and of the Third, principally to the

Lord *Wefton*, then Lord High Treasurer of *England*; both in respect of the great Power, and Interest they then had in the Affections of his Majesty, and for that the time of the Dissolutions happened to be when some Charges, and Accusations were preparing, and ready to be preferred against those two great Persons. And therefore the Envy, and Hatred, that attended them thereupon, was Insupportable, and was visibly the cause of the murder of the first (stabbed to the Heart by the hand of a Villain, upon the mere impious pretence of his being odious to the Parliament) and made, no doubt, so great an impression upon the Understanding, and Nature of the other, that, by degrees, he lost that temper and serenity of Mind, he had been before master of, and which was most fit to have accompanied him in his weighty Employments: inso- much, as, out of indignation to find himself worse used than he deserved, he cared less to deserve well, than he had done; and insensibly grew into that Public hatred, that rendered him less useful to the Service that he only intended.

I wonder less at the Errors of this nature in the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, having had a most generous Education in Courts, was utterly ignorant of the Ebbs and Floods of Popular Councils, and of the Winds that move those Waters; and could not, without the spirit of Indignation, find himself, in the space of a few weeks, without any visible cause intervening, from the greatest height of popular Estimation that any person hath ascended to (inso- much as Sir *Edward Coke* blasphemously

B O O K I. called him our Saviour) by the same breath thrown down to the depth of Calumny, and Reproach. I say, it is no Marvel (besides that he was naturally to follow such Counsels as were given him) that he could think of no better way, to be freed of these inconveniencies, and troubles; the Passions of those Meetings gave him, than to Dissolve them, and prevent their coming together: and that when they seemed to neglect the Public Peace, out of Animosity to him, he intended his own Ease and Security in the first place, and easily believed, the Public might be otherwise provided for, by more Intent, and Dispassionate Councils. But that the other, the Lord *Weston*, who had been very much, and very Popularly conversant in those Conventions, who exactly knew the Frame, and Constitution of the Kingdom, the temper of the People, the Extents of the Courts of Law, and the Jurisdiction of Parliaments, which at that time had seldom, or never committed any Excess of jurisdiction (Modesty and Moderation in words never was nor ever will be observed in Popular Councils, whose foundation is Liberty of Speech) that He should believe, that the Union, Peace, and Plenty of the Kingdom could be preserved without Parliaments, or that the Passion, and Distemper gotten, and received into Parliaments, could be removed, and reformed by the more passionate Breaking and Dissolving them; or that that Course would not inevitably prove the most Pernicious to himself, is as much my Wonder, as any thing that hath since happened.

There is a Protection very gracious, and just, which Princes owe to their Servants, when, in Obedience to their just Commands, upon extraordinary and necessary Occasions, in the Execution of their Trusts, they swerve from the strict Letter of the Law, which, without that Mercy, would be Penal to them. In any such Case, it is as Legal (the Law presuming it will always be done upon great Reason) for the King to Pardon, as for the Party to Accuse, and the Judge to Condemn. But for the Sovereign Power to interpose, and shelter an Accused Servant from answering, does not only seem an obstruction of Justice, and lay an imputation upon the Prince of being privy to the Offence, but leaves so great a Scandal upon the Party himself, that he is generally concluded Guilty of whatsoever he is charged with; which is commonly more than the Worst Man ever deserved. And it is worthy the Observation, that, as no Innocent Man who made his Defence, ever Suffered in those times by Judgment of Parliament, so many Guilty persons, and against whom the Spirit of the times went as High, by the wise managing their Defence, have been freed from their Accusers, not only without Censure, but without Reproach: as the Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper, Sir *H. Marten*, and Sir *H. Spiller*; Men, in their several degrees, as little beholden to the Charity of that time, as any Men since. Whereas scarce a Man, who, with Industry and Skill, labored to keep himself from being Accused, or by Power to stop or divert the Course of Proceeding, escaped without some Signal

- BOOK Mark of Infamy, or Prejudice. And the Reason is
1. clear, for besides that, after the first Storm, there is some Compassion naturally attends Men like to be in Misery; and, besides the latitude of Judging in those places, whereby there is room for Kindness and Affection, and collateral Considerations to interpose; the truth is, those Accusations (to which this Man contributes his Malice, another his Wit, all Men what they Please, and most upon Hear-say, with a kind of Uncharitable Delight of making the Charge as Heavy as may be) are commonly stuffed with many odious Generals, that the Proofs seldom make good: and then a Man is no sooner found less Guilty than he is expected, but he is concluded more Innocent than he is; and it is thought but a just Reparation for the Reproach that he deserved not, to Free him from the Censure he deserved. So that, very probably, those two Noble Persons had been happy, if they had stoutly submitted to the Proceedings were designed against them; and, without question, it had been of Sovereign Use to the King, if, in those Peaceable times, Parliaments had been Taught to know their own Bounds, by being suffered to Proceed as far as they could go; by which the Extent of their Power would quickly have been manifested: from whence no Inconvenience of moment could have Proceeded; the House of Commons never then pretending to the least part of Judicature, or Exceeding the known Verge of their own Privileges; the House of Peers observing the Rules of the Law and Equity in their Judgments, and

proceeding Deliberately upon clear Testimony and Evidence of matter of Fact; and the King retaining the sole Power of Pardoning, and receiving the whole profit of all Penalties and Judgments; and indeed having so great an influence upon the Body of the Peerage, that it was scarce known, that any Person of Honor was severely Censured in that House (before this present Parliament) who was not either immediately Prosecuted by the Court, or in evident Disfavor there; by which, it may be (as it usually falls out) some Doors were opened, at which Inconveniencies to the Crown have got in, that were not then enough Weighed and Considered.

But the Course of Exempting Men from Prosecution, by Dissolving of Parliaments, made the Power of Parliaments much more Formidable, as conceived to be without Limit; since the Sovereign Power seemed to be compelled (as unable otherwise to set Bounds to their Proceedings) to that rough Cure, and to determine their Beings, because it could not determine their Jurisdiction. Whereas if they had been frequently Summoned, and seasonably Dissolved, after their Wisdom in applying Medicines and Cures, as well as their industry in discovering Diseases, had been discerned, they would easily have been applied to the Uses for which they were first Instituted; and been of no less Esteem with the Crown, than of Veneration with the People. And so I shall conclude this Digression, which, I conceived, was not unreasonable for this Place, nor upon this Occasion,

B O O K and return to the Time, when that brisk, and
L improvident Resolution was taken of declining
 those Conventions; all Men being Inhibited (as I
 said before they generally took themselves to be)
 by the Proclamation at the Dissolution of the Parlia-
 ment in the fourth Year, so much as to mention
 or speak as if a Parliament should be called.

The State of
 the Court
 about that
 time.

And here it will give much Light to that which
 follows, if we take a View of the State of the Court,
 and of the Council at that time, by which we may
 best see the face of that time, and the Affections
 and Temper of the People in general.

The Rise of
 the Duke of
 Buckingham.

For the better taking this Prospect, we will be-
 gin with a survey of the Person of that great Man,
 the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was so barbarously
 Murdered about this time) whose Influence had been
 Unfortunate in the Public Affairs, and whose Death
 produced a change in all the Counsels. The Duke
 was indeed a very extraordinary Person, and never
 any Man, in any Age, nor, I believe in any
 Country, or Nation, rose, in so short a time, to so
 much greatness of Honor, Fame, and Fortune,
 upon no other advantage or recommendation, than
 of the Beauty and Gracefulness of his Person. I
 have not the least purpose of undervaluing his good
 Parts and Qualities (of which there will be occasion
 shortly to give some testimony) when I say, that
 his first introduction into Favor, was purely from
 the Handsomeness of his Person.

He was a younger Son of Sir *George Villiers*, of
Brookesby in the County of *Leicester*; a Family of an
 ancient extraction, even from the time of the Con-

quest, and Transported then with the Conqueror out of *Normandy*, where the Family hath still remained, and still continues with Lustre. After Sir *George's* first Marriage, in which he had two or three Sons, and Some Daughters, who shared an ample Inheritance from him; by a second Marriage with a Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*, he had this Gentleman, and two other Sons and a Daughter, who all came afterwards to be raised to great Titles and Dignities. *George*, the eldest Son of this second bed, was, after the death of his Father, by the singular affection and care of his Mother, who enjoyed a good Jointure, in the account of that Age, well brought up; and, for the improvement of his Education, and giving an Ornament to his hopeful Person, he was by Her sent into *France*; where he spent two or three Years in attaining the Language, and in Learning the exercises of Riding and Dancing; in the last of which he excelled most Men, and returned into *England* by the time he was 21 Years old.

King *James* Reigned at that time, and though he was a Prince of more Learning and Knowledge than any other of that Age, and really delighted more in Books, and in the conversation of Learned Men, yet, of all Wise Men living, he was the most delighted and taken with Handsome Persons, and Fine Clothes. He begun to be weary of his Favorite, the Earl of *Somerfet*, who was the only Favorite that kept that Post so long, without any public Reproach from the People. But, by the instigation and wickedness of his Wife, he became,

B O O K
I.

B O O K at least, privy to a horrible Murder, that exposed
 1. him to the utmost severity of the Law (the Poisoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*) upon which both He, and his Wife were condemned to die, after a Trial by their Peers, and many Persons of Quality were Executed for the same.

Whilst this was in agitation, and before the utmost discovery was made, Mr. *Villiers* appeared in Court, and drew the King's eyes upon him. There were enough in the Court sufficiently angry, and incensed against *Somerfet*, for being what themselves desired to be, and especially for being a *Scots-man*, and ascending, in so short a time, from being a Page, to the Height he was then at, to contribute all they could to promote the One, that they might throw out the Other: which being easily brought to pass, by the proceeding of the Law upon his aforesaid Crime, the Other found very little difficulty in rendering himself Gracious to the King, whose Nature and Disposition was very flowing in affection towards Persons so adorned. Insomuch that, in few days after his first appearance in Court, he was made Cup-bearer to the King, by which he was, of course, to be much in his Presence, and so admitted to that conversation and discourse, with which that Prince always abounded at his meals.

His Inclinations to his new Cup-bearer disposed him to administer frequent occasions of discoursing of the Court of *France*, and the Transactions there, with which he had been so lately acquainted, that he could pertinently enlarge upon that Subject, to the King's great delight, and to the gaining the esteem

esteem and value of all the flanders by to Himself : B O O I.
 which was a thing the King was well pleased with. I.
 He acted very few weeks upon this Stage, when he
 mounted Higher; and, being Knighted, without
 any other Qualification, he was at the same time
 made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Knight
 of the Order of the Garter, and in a short time (very
 short for such a prodigious Ascent) he was made a
 Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquis, and became
 Lord high Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the
 Cinque Ports, Master of the Horse, and entirely
 disposed of all the Graces of the King, in conferring
 all the Honors, and all the Offices of three Kingdoms
 without a Rival; in dispensing whereof, he was
 guided more by the rules of Appetite, than of Judge-
 ment, and so, exalted almost all of his own nume-
 rous Family, and Dependants; whose greatest Merit
 was their Alliance to Him; which equally offended
 the ancient Nobility, and the People of all condi-
 tions, who saw the Flowers of the Crown every day
 fading, and withered; whilst the Demefnes, and
 Revenue thereof were Sacrificed to the enriching a
 Private Family (how well soever originally ex-
 tracted) scarce ever heard of before to the Nation,
 and the expences of the Court so vast and unlimited,
 that they had a sad prospect of that Poverty, and
 Necessity, which afterwards beset the Crown,
 almost to the Ruin of it.

Many were of opinion, that King *James* before
 his death, grew weary of this Favorite, and that, if
 he had lived, he would have deprived him at
 least of his large, and unlimited Power. And this

BOOK I. imagination so prevailed with some Men, as the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*, and other Gentlemen of Name, though not in so high Stations, that they had the Courage to withdraw from their absolute dependance upon the Duke, and to make some other Effays, which proved to the Ruin of every one of them; there appearing no mark or evidence, that the King did really lessen his affection to Him, to the hour of his death. On the contrary, as he Created him Duke of *Buckingham* in his Absence, whilst he was with the Prince in *Spain*, so, after their Return, the Duke executed the same Authority in conferring all Favors and Graces, and in revenging himself upon those who had manifested any unkindness towards him. And yet notwithstanding all this, if that King's Nature had equally disposed him to pull down, as to build and erect; and if his Courage and Severity in punishing and reforming, had been as great, as his Generosity and Inclination was to oblige, it is not to be doubted, but that he would have withdrawn his affection from the Duke entirely, before his death; which those Persons who were admitted to any Privacy with him, and were not in the Confidence of the Other (for before Those he knew well how to dissemble) had reason enough to expect.

An account
of Prince
Charles'
Journey into
Spain.

For it is certain, that the King was never well pleased with the Duke, after the Prince's going into *Spain*; which was infinitely against his Will, and contrived wholly by the Duke: Who, out of Envy, that the Earl of *Bristol* should have the sole

management of so great an Affair (as hitherto that Treaty had been wholly Conducted by him in *Spain*, where he was Extraordinary Ambassador, and all particulars upon the matter agreed upon) had one day insinuated to the Prince the common misfortune of Princes, that in so Substantial a part of their Happiness in this World, as depended upon their Marriage, Themselves had never any part, but must receive only an account from others of the Nature, and Humor, and Beauty of the Ladies they were to Marry; and those Reports seldom proceeded from Persons totally Uninterested, by reason of the parts they had acted towards such preparations. From hence he discoursed, how Gallant and how Brave a thing it would be, for his Highness to make a Journey into *Spain*, and to fetch home his Mistress; that it would put an end presently to all those Formalities, which (though all Substantial matters were agreed upon already) according to the Style of that Court, and the slow progress in all things of Ceremony, might yet retard the Infanta's Voyage into *England* many Months; all which would be in a moment removed by his Highness' own Presence; that it would be such an Obligation to the Infanta herself, as She could never enough value or requite, and being a Respect rarely paid by any other Prince, upon the like Addresses, could proceed only from the high Regard and Reverence he had for her Person; that in the great Affair that only remained undetermined, and was not entirely yielded to, though under a very Friendly deliberation, which was the Restoring the *Palatinate*, it was very probable, that the King of

B O O K *Spain* himself might chuse, in the instant, to gratify
 I. his Personal Interposition, which, in a Treaty with
 an Ambassador, might be drawn out in length, or
 attended with overtures of Recompence by some
 new Concessions, which would create new Diffi-
 culties; However, that the Mediation could not
 but be frankly undertaken by the Infanta herself, who
 would ambitiously make it her work to pay a part of
 her great Debt to the Prince, and that he might,
 with Her, and by Her, present to his Majesty the
 entire Peace, and Restitution of his Family; which
 by no other Human Means could be brought to pass.

These discourses made so deep impression upon the
 Mind and Spirit of the Prince (whose Nature was
 inclined to Adventures) that he was transported
 with the Thought of it, and most impatiently soli-
 citous to bring it to pass. The greatest Difficulty in
 view was, how they might procure the King's con-
 sent, who was very Quick-sighted in discerning
 difficulties, and raising objections, and very Slow
 in mastering them, and untying the knots he had
 made; In a word, he knew not how to wrestle with
 desperate Contingencies, and so abhorred the being
 entangled in Such. This was first to be attempted by
 the Prince himself, by communicating it to the King,
 as his earnest desire and suit, with this circumstance,
 that Since his doing, or not doing what he most
 desired, depended wholly and entirely upon his
 Majesty's own Approbation and Command, he
 would vouchsafe to promise Not to Communicate the
 thing proposed, before he had first taken his Own
 Resolution; and that this condition should be first

humbly insisted on, before the Substantial Point should be Communicated; and so this approach being first made, the success and prosecution was to be left to the Duke's credit and dexterity. All things being thus concerted between his Highness and the Duke (and this the beginning of an entire Confidence between them, after a long time of declared Jealousy and Displeasure on the Prince's part, and Occasion enough administered on the Other) they shortly found fit opportunity (and there were Seasons when that King was to be approached more hopefully than in others) to make their address Together. His Majesty cheerfully consented to the Condition, and being well pleased that all should depend upon his Will, frankly promised, that he would not, in any degree, Communicate to any Person the matter, before he had taken, and Communicated to Them his Own Resolutions.

The Prince then, upon his knees, declared his Suit and very importunate Request, the Duke standing a long time by, without saying a word, while the King discoursed the whole matter to the Prince, with less Passion than they expected, and then looked upon the Duke, as inclined to hear what He would say; who spoke nothing to the point whether, in prudence, Advisable or Not; but enlarged upon the infinite Obligation, his Majesty would confer upon the Prince, by his Yielding to the violent Passion his Highness was transported with; and, after many exalted expressions to that purpose, concluded, that he doubted, that his Majesty, refusing to grant the Prince this his humble Request, would make a

The Prince
proposes his
Journey to
his Father.

B O O K deep Impression upon his Spirits, and peace of Mind;
I. and that he would, he feared, look upon it as the greatest Misfortune and Affliction, that could befall him in this World. The Prince, then taking the opportunity, from the good Temper he saw his Father in, to enlarge upon those two Points, which he knew were most Important in the King's Own wishes and judgment, That this expedient would put a quick end to this Treaty, which could not be Continued, after his Arrival in that Court, but that his Marriage must presently ensue, which, he knew well enough, the King did most impatiently desire of all Blessings in this World: He said likewise, he would undertake (and he could not but be believed from the Reasonableness of it) that his Presence would, in a moment, Determine the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Sister; which was the Second thing the King longed most passionately to see, before he should leave this World.

King James
 Consents to it.

These discourses, urged with all the artifice and address imaginable, so far wrought upon, and prevailed with the King, that, with less hesitation than his Nature was accustomed to, and much less than was agreeable to his great Wisdom, he gave his approbation, and promised that the Prince should make the Journey he was so much inclined to. Whether he did not upon the Sudden comprehend the consequences, which would Naturally attend such a rash undertaking, or the less considered them, because Provisions, which must be made for such a Journey, both with reference to the expense, and security of it, would take up much time, and could

not be done in such a secret way, but that the B O O K
 Counsel itself might be resumed, when new measures I.
 should be taken. But this imagination was too
 Reasonable not to be Foreseen by them, and so they
 had provided themselves accordingly. And therefore,
 as soon as they had the King's promise upon the main,
 they told him, the Security of such a design depended
 on the Expedition, without which there could be
 no Secrecy observed or hoped for; That, if it were
 deferred till such a Fleet could be made ready, and
 such an Equipage prepared as might be fit for the
 Prince of *Wales*; so much time would be spent, as
 would Disappoint the principal Ends of the Journey;
 if they should send for a Pass to *France*, the Cere-
 mony in asking and granting it, and that which
 would flow from it, in his passage through that
 Kingdom, would be, at least, liable to the same
 objection of Delay; besides that, according to the
 mysteries and intrigues of State, such a Pass could
 not in point of security be reasonably Depended
 upon; and therefore they had thought of an Ex-
 pedient, which would avoid all Inconveniencies and
 Hazards; and that it should be Executed before it
 should be Suspected; that it had never hitherto been,
 in the least degree, consulted but between Them-
 selves (which was really true) and therefore, if
 they now undertook the Journey only with two
 Servants, who should not know any thing till the
 moment they were to depart, they might easily pass
 through *France*, before they should be Missed at
Whitehall; which was not hard to be conceived, and
 so with the less disquisition was consented to by the

BOOK
I.

King; and the farther Deliberation of what was more to be done both in matter, and manner, and the Nomination of the Persons who should attend Them, and the Time for their departure was deferred to the consultation of the next day.

When the King, in his Retirement, and by himself, came to Revolve what had been so loosely Consulted before, as he had a wonderful Sagacity in such Reflections, a thousand Difficulties and Dangers occurred to him, and so many Precipices, which could hardly be avoided in such a Journey; besides those considerations, which the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son, suggested to him, he thought how ill an influence it might have on his People, too much disposed to murmur and complain of the least Inadvertency; and that they looked upon the Prince as the Son of the Kingdom, as well as his Own. He considered the Reputation he should lose with all Foreign Princes (especially if any Ill Accident should happen) by so much departing from his Dignity in exposing the immediate Heir of the Crown, his only Son, to all the Dangers, and all the Jealousies, which particular Malice, or that fathomless abyss of Reason of State, might prepare and contrive against him; and then, in how desperate a condition Himself, and his Kingdoms should remain, if the Prince miscarried by such an unparalleled weakness of his, contrary to the light of his Understanding, as well as the current of his Affections.

These Reflections were so Terrible to him, that they Robbed him of all Peace and Quiet of Mind; insomuch as when the Prince, and Duke came to

him about the Despatch, he fell into a great Passion with Tears, and told them, that he was Undone, and that it would break his heart, if they pursued their Resolution; that upon a true and dispassionate disquisition he had made with Himself, he was abundantly convinced, that, besides the almost inevitable Hazards of the Prince's Person, with whom his life was bound up, and besides the entire Loss of the affections of his People, which would unavoidably attend this rash action, he foresaw it would ruin the whole design, and irrecoverably Break the Match. For whereas all those Particulars, upon which he could positively and of right Insist, were fully Granted (for That, which concerned the Prince Elector, who had unexcusably and directly against his Advice, incurred the Ban of the Empire in an Imperial Diet, must be wrought off by Mediation and Treaty, could not be insisted on in Justice) nor could *Spain* make any new Demands, all the Overtures they had made being Adjusted; the Prince should no sooner arrive at *Madrid*, than all the Articles of the Treaty should be laid Aside, and New matter be proposed, which had not been yet mentioned, and could never be consented to by him; That the Treaty of this Marriage, how well soever received, and how much soever desired by the King, and his Chief Ministers, was, in no degree, acceptable to the *Spanish* Nation in general, and less to the Court of *Rome*, where, though the new Pope seemed more inclined to grant the Dispensation than his Predecessor had been, it was plain enough, that it proceeded only from the apprehension he had

B O O K to Displease the King of *Spain*, not that he was less
L. averse from the Match, it having been always
believed both in *Spain*, and in *Rome*, that this Marriage was to be attended with a full Repeal of all the Penal Laws against the Papists, and a plenary Toleration of the Exercise of that Religion in *England*, which they now saw concluded without any signal or real Benefit, or Advantage to them. And therefore they might expect, and be confident, that when they had the Person of the Prince of *Wales* in their Hands, the King of *Spain* (though in his own nature and inclinations full of Honor and Justice) would be even Compelled by his Clergy (who had always a great influence upon the Counsels of that Kingdom) and the Importunities from *Rome*, who would tell him, that God had put it now into his Hand to advance the Catholic Cause, to make new Demands for those of that Religion here; which, though he could never consent to, would, at best, interpose such Delays in the Marriage, that he should never live to see it brought to pass, nor probably to see his Return again from *Spain*. Then he put the Duke in mind (whom he hitherto believed only to comply with the Prince, to Oblige him, after a long alienation from his Favor) how inevitable his Ruin must be, by the effect of this Counsel, how Ungracious he was already with the People, and how many Enemies he had, amongst the greatest Persons of the Nobility, who would make such use of this occasion, that it would not be in his Majesty's Power to Protect him. And then he Concluded with the Disorder and Passion, with which he begun, with Sighs and

Tears, to conjure them, that they would no more press him to give his Consent to a Thing so contrary to his Reason, and Understanding, and Interest, the Execution whereof would break his Heart, and that they would give over any further pursuit of it. BOOK
I.

The Prince, and the Duke took not the pains to answer any of the Reasons his Majesty had insisted on; his Highness only putting him in mind of the Promise he had made to him the day before, which was so Sacred, that he hoped he would not Violate it; which if he should, it would make him never think more of Marriage. The Duke, who better knew, what kind of Arguments were of Prevalence with him, Treated him more Rudely; told him, No body could believe any thing he Said, when he retracted so soon the promise he so solemnly made; that he plainly discerned, that it proceeded from another Breach of his Word, in Communicating with some Rascal, who had furnished him with those Pitiful Reasons he had alledged, and he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his Counselor had been; That if he receded from what he had promised, it would be such a Difobligation to the Prince, who had set his heart now upon the Journey, after his Majesty's approbation, that he could never Forget it, nor Forgive any Man who had been the Cause of it.

The Prince, who had always expressed the highest Duty and Reverence towards the King, by his humble and importunate Entreaty, and the Duke, by his rougher Dialect, in the end prevailed so far (after his Majesty had Passionately, and with many

B O O K Oaths renounced the having Communicated the
I. matter with any Person living) that the debate was again resumed upon the journey, which they earnestly desired might not be Deferred, but that they might take their leaves of the King within two days, in which they would have all things ready that were necessary, his Highness pretending to Hunt at *Theobald's*, and the Duke to take Physic at *Chelsey*.

They told him, that being to have only Two more in their company, as was before resolved, they had thought (if he approved them) upon Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who, though they might safely, should not be Trusted with the Secret, till they were even ready to be embarked. The Persons were both Grateful to the King, the former having been long his Majesty's Agent in the Court of *Spain*, and was now Secretary to the Prince; the other, having been bred in *Madrid*, after many years attendance upon the Duke, was now one of the Bed-chamber to the prince: So that his Majesty cheerfully approved the election they had made, and wished it might be presently imparted to them; saying that many things would occur to them, as necessary to the journey, that they two would never think of; and took that occasion to send for Sir *Francis Cottington* to come presently to him (whilst the other remained with him) who being of custom, waiting in the outward room, was quickly brought in; whilst the Duke whispered the Prince in the ear, that *Cottington* would be against the Journey, and his Highness answered he Durst not.

The King told him, that he had always been an Honest man, and therefore he was now to Trust him in an Affair of the Highest Importance, which he was not, upon his life, to Disclose, to any man alive; then said to him, *Cottington* here is *Baby Charles* and *Stenny* (an appellation he always used, of and towards the Duke) who have a great mind to go by Post into *Spain*, to fetch Home the Infanta, and will have but Two more in their company, and have chosen You for one. What think you of the journey? (He often protested since, that, when he heard the King, he fell into such a trembling that he could hardly speak. But when the King Commanded him to answer him, what He thought of the journey) he replied that he could not think Well of it, and that he believed, it would render all that had been done towards the Match, Fruitless: for that *Spain* would no longer think themselves Obligated by those Articles, but that, when they had the Prince in their hands, they would make New overtures, which they believed more Advantageous to them; amongst which they must look for many that would concern Religion, and the Exercise of it in *England*. Upon which the King threw himself upon his bed, and said, I told you this before, and fell into new Passion, and Lamentation, that he was Undone and should Lose *Baby Charles*.

There appeared Displeasure and Anger enough in the Countenances both of the Prince and Duke; the latter saying that, as soon as the King sent for him, he whispered the Prince in the ear, that he would be against it: that he knew his Pride well enough; and

BOOK I. that, because he had not been first advised with, he was resolved to dislike it; and therefore he reproached *Cottington* with all possible bitterness of Words, told him the King asked him only of the Journey, and which would be the best Way, of which he might be a competent counsellor, having made the way so often by Post; but that he had the presumption to give his advice upon Matter of State, and against his Master, without being called to it, which he should repent as long as he lived; with a thousand new reproaches, which put the poor King into a New Agony, on the behalf of a Servant, who he foresaw would Suffer for answering him Honestly. Upon which he said, with some commotion. Nay, by God, *Stenny*, you are very much to blame to use him so; he answered me directly to the Question I asked him, and very Honestly and Wisely: and yet you know he said no more than I told you, before he was called in. However, after all this passion on both parts, the King Yielded; and the Journey was at that conference agreed on, and all directions given accordingly to Sir *Francis Cottington*; the King having now plainly discovered, that the Whole Intrigue was originally Contrived by the Duke, and so violently Pursued by His spirit and impetuosity.

The manner, circumstances, and conclusion of that Voyage, with the Extraordinary Accidents that happened in it, will no doubt be at large remembered by whosoever shall have the courage to write the transactions of that Time, with that Integrity he ought to do: in which it will manifestly appear, how much of the Prophet was in the wisdom of the King;

and that that designed Marriage, which had been so many years in Treaty, even from the Death of Prince *Harry*, and so near concluded, was solely Broken by that Journey; which, with the passages before mentioned, King *James* never Forgave the Duke of *Buckingham*; but retained as sharp a memory of it, as His nature could contain.

This Indisposition of the King towards the Duke was exceedingly increased, and aggravated, upon and after the Prince's return out of *Spain*. For though it brought infinite Joy and Delight to his Majesty, which he expressed in all imaginable Transport, and was the argument of the loudest, and most universal rejoicing over the whole Kingdom, that the Nation had ever been acquainted with; in which the Duke had so full a Harvest, that the Imprudence, and Presumption (to say no more) of carrying the Prince into *Spain* was totally Forgotten, or not remembered with any Reference to him, and the high Merit and inestimable Obligation, in bringing him Home, was Remembered, Magnified, and Celebrated by all Men in all Places; Yet the King was wonderfully disquieted, when he found (which he had not, before their Return, suspected) that the Prince was totally Aliened from all thoughts of, or inclination to the Marriage, and that they were resolved to Break it with, or without his approbation, or consent. And in This the Duke resumed the same impetuosity he had so much indulged to Himself in the debate of the journey into *Spain*.

The King had, upon the Prince's Return issued out Writs to call a Parliament, which was in the 21st

A Parliament
is Called after
the Prince's
Return.

B O O K year of his Reign, thinking it necessary with relation to the perplexities he was in, for the Breach of this Match with *Spain* (which he foresaw must ensue) and the Sad condition of his Only Daughter in *Germany*, with her numerous Issue, to receive their grave Advice. By the time the Parliament could meet, the Prince's entire Confidence being reposed still in the Duke, as the King's seemed to be, the Duke had wrought himself into the very great Esteem and Confidence of the principal Members of both Houses of Parliament, who were most like to be the Leading Men, and had all a desire to have as much Reputation in the Court, as they had in the Country. It was very reasonably thought necessary, that as the King would, at the opening of the Parliament, make mention of the Treaty with *Spain*, and more at large of his Daughter's being driven out of the *Palatinate*, which would require their assistance and aid; so that the Prince and Duke should afterwards, to one or both Houses, as occasion should be offered, make a Relation of what had passed in *Spain*, especially concerning the *Palatinate*: that so the Houses being put into some Method and Order of their future debate, they might be more easily regulated, than if they were in the beginning left to that Liberty, which they naturally affected, and from which they would not be restrained; but in such a manner, as would be grateful to Themselves.

Things being thus concerted, after the Houses had been three or four days together (for, in that time, some days were always spent in the formality of naming Committees, and providing for common Occurrences;

Occurrences; before they made an entrance upon more solemn Debates) the prince began to speak of the *Spanish* Affairs, and of his own Journey thither, and forgot not to mention the Duke with more than ordinary affection. Where upon it was thought fit, that the whole Affair, which was likewise to be the principal Subject Matter of all their Consultations, should be stated and enlarged upon, in a Conference between the two Houses, which his Highness and the Duke were desired to manage. How little notice soever any body else could take of the Change, the Duke himself too well knew the hearty resentment the King had of what had passed, and the affection he still had for the *Spanish* Treaty: and therefore he had done, and resolved still to do, all he could, to make himself grateful to the Parliament; and popular amongst the People; who, he knew, had always detested the Match with *Spain*, or in truth any Alliance with that Nation.

So when, at the Conference, the Prince had made a short Introduction to the business, and said some very kind things of the Duke, of his wonderful Care of him, whilst he was in *Spain*, and the great Dexterity he used in getting him away; he referred the whole Relation to Him: Who said, "That the true Ground of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, which, he well knew, had begot such a terrible panting in the hearts of all good Englishmen, had been only to make a clear discovery of the Sincerity of the Spaniard, and, if his intentions were real, to put a speedy End to it by marrying of the Lady upon the place; if he found it otherwise, to put

The Prince's
and Duke's
Account of the
Journey at a
Conference
between both
Houses.

B O O K

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“ his Father, and himself at liberty to dispose of
 “ Himself in some other place. That the Ambassador
 “ in whose hands that great Affair was solely managed,
 “ when, in one Despatch, he writ that all was
 “ Concluded, in the next, used to give an account
 “ of new Difficulties, and new Demands; And,
 “ when all things were Adjusted at *Madrid*, some
 “ unexpected Scruples discovered themselves at
 “ *Rome*, with which the Councils in *Spain* seemed to
 “ be surpris'd, and appeared to be confounded, and
 “ not to know what to say. These Ebbs and Floods
 “ made the Prince apprehend, that the purpose was
 “ to amuse Us, whilst They had other Designs in
 “ secret agitation. And thereupon, that his Highness
 “ had prevail'd with his Father (how unwilling
 “ soever) to permit him to make the Journey, that he
 “ might make that useful Discovery, which could
 “ not otherwise be made in any seasonable time.

“ That they no sooner came to *Madrid*, than they
 “ Discovered (though the Prince was treated with
 “ all the Respect due to his Greatness, and the Obligation
 “ he had laid upon that Nation) that there
 “ had never been any real purpose that the Infanta
 “ should be given to him: That, during so long an
 “ abode, as his Highness made there, they had never
 “ procur'd the Dispensation from *Rome*; which they
 “ might easily have done: And that at last, upon
 “ the death of the Pope, *Gregory* the 15th, the whole
 “ Process was to begin again, and would be transacted
 “ with the Formalities, which they should find necessary
 “ to their other affairs. That, instead of Proceeding
 “ upon the Articles, which had been pretended

“ to be Concluded , they urged nothing but New
 “ demands ; and , in matters of Religion , so Peremp-
 “ torily , that the principal Clergymen , and the
 “ most eminent of that King’s Preachers , had frequent
 “ Conferences with the Prince , to persuade him to
 “ change his Religion , and become a Papist. And,
 “ in order to move him the more successfully
 “ thereunto , they procured the Pope to write a
 “ Letter himself to his Highness , putting him in
 “ mind of the Religion of his Ancestors , and pro-
 “ genitors , and conjuring him to return to the
 “ same Faith ; but that it had pleased God not
 “ only to give the prince a constant , and unshaken
 “ Heart in his Religion , but such wonderful abilities
 “ to Defend the same in his Discourse , and Argu-
 “ ments , that they stood amazed to Hear him , and
 “ upon the matter confessed that they were not able
 “ to Answer him.

“ That they would not suffer the Prince to confer
 “ with , or so much as to speak to , hardly , and very
 “ rarely to see his Mistress , whom they pretended
 “ he should forthwith marry. That they could never
 “ obtain any better answer in the business of the
 “ *Palatinate* , than that the Restoring it was not in
 “ the power of that King ; though it had been taken
 “ by the sole power of *Spain* , and the *Spanish* Army ,
 “ under the Command of the Marquis *Spinola* ,
 “ who was then in the entire Possession of it ; but
 “ that his Catholic Majesty would use his Inter-
 “ position , with all the credit he had with the Em-
 “ peror and Duke of *Bavaria* , without whose joint
 “ consent it could not be done , and whose consent he

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" hoped to obtain ; but that He was well assured ;
 " that there was no more real intention in that point
 " of Restitution, than in the other of Marriage ; and
 " that the *Palatinate* could not be hoped to be re-
 " covered any other way than by Force, which
 " would easily bring it to pass.

Throughout his whole discourse he made frequent
 Reflections upon the Earl of *Bristol*, as if he very
 well knew the *Spaniards* purposes in the whole, and
 concurred with them in it. " That he was so much
 " troubled, when he first saw the Prince, who alighted
 " at his house, that he could not contain himself,
 " but wished that his Highness were at Home again :
 " That he had afterwards, when he found that his
 " Highness liked the Infanta, persuaded him in
 " private that he would become a Papist ; and that,
 " without changing his Religion, it would not be
 " possible ever to compass that Marriage.

He told them, " That the King had sent for the
 " Earl to return Home, where he should be called
 " to account for all his Miscarriages." Whereas in
 truth the King had recalled him rather to assist him
 against the Duke, than to expose him to his Malice,
 and Fury ; his Majesty having a great esteem of that
 Earl's Fidelity to him, and of his great Abilities.

The Parlia-
 ment's Resolu-
 tion upon it to
 declare a War
 with Spain.

The Conference ended in a wonderful Applause
 in both Houses, of the Prince and Duke's behaviour,
 and carriage throughout the Affair, and in a hasty
 Resolution to Dissuade the King from entertaining
 any farther motions towards the Match, and frankly
 and resolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*; towards
 the carrying on of which they raised great mountains

of Promises, and, prevailing in the First, never remembered to make good the Latter; which too often falls out in such Counsels.

When King *James* was informed of what the Duke had so confidently avowed, for which he had not authority, or the least direction from Him; and a great part whereof himself knew to be untrue; and that he had advised an utter Breach of the Treaty, and to enter upon a War with *Spain*, he was infinitely offended; so that he wanted only a resolute and brisk Counsellor, to assist him in destroying the Duke: and such a one he promised himself in the arrival of the Earl of *Bristol*, whom he expected every day.

King James' Perplexities, and Displeasure against the Duke upon That occasion.

His Majesty had another Exception against the Duke, which touched him as near, and in which he enlarged himself much more. *Lionel Cranfield*, who (though extracted from a Gentleman's Family) had been bred in the City, and, being a Man of great Wit and Understanding in all the mysteries of Trade, had found means to work himself into the good opinion and favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and, having shortly after Married a near Relation of the Duke's, with wonderful expedition was made a Privy-Counsellor, Master of the Wardrobe, Master of the Wards, and, without parting with any of these, was now become Lord high Treasurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middlesex*, and had gained so much Credit with the King (being in truth a Man of great parts and notable dexterity) that, during the Duke's absence in *Spain*, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of Money, as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited Expenses,

The Earl of Middlesex his Rise, and Fall.

B O O K and to correspond with Him with that Deference he
I. had used to do, but had the Courage to dispute His commands, and to Appeal to the King, whose Ear was always inclined to him, and in Whom he begun to believe himself so far fastened, that he should not stand in need of the future Support of the Favorite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own Creatures, who were near enough to observe; as from others, who, caring for Neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a Promotion of a Person of such an education, and whom they had long known so Much their Inferior, though it could not be denied that he Filled the Places he held with great Abilities.

The Duke no sooner found the Parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the Prince's fast kindness, than he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival of his; of whom he saw clearly enough that the King had so good an opinion, that it would not be in his sole Power to crush Him, as he had done others, in the same, and as high a Station. And so he easily procured some Leading Men in the House of Commons, to cause an Impeachment for several Corruptions and Misdemeanours, to be sent up to the House of Peers against that great Minister, whom they had so lately known their Equal in that House; which (besides their natural Inclination to that kind of Correction) disposed Them with great alacrity to this Prosecution. The wise King knew well enough the ill Consequence, that must attend Such an activity; and that it would

shake his Own Authority in the Choice of his Own Ministers, when they should find, that their Security did not depend solely upon his Own Protection : Which Breach upon his Kingly Power was so much without a Precedent (except one unhappy one made three Years before , to gratify likewise a Private displeasure) that the like had not been practised in very many Years.

When this Prosecution was first entered upon, and that the King clearly discerned it was contrived by the Duke , and that he had likewise prevailed with the Prince to be well pleased with it ; his Majesty sent for them , and with much warmth and passion , dissuaded them from appearing Farther in it ; and conjured them “ to use all their Interest and Authority “ to restrain it, as such a Wound to the Crown , that “ would not be easily healed. And when he found the Duke unmoved by all the considerations , and arguments, and commands, he had offered, he said, in great Choler, “ By God , *Stenny*, you are a Fool, “ and will shortly repent this folly, and will find, “ that, in this Fit of Popularity, you are making a “ Rod, with which you will be scourged your Self :” And turning in some anger to the Prince , told him, “ That he would live to have his belly full of Parlia- “ ment-Impeachments : and when I shall be dead, “ you will have too much cause to remember, how “ much You have contributed to the Weakening of “ the Crown, by the two Precedents you are Now “ so Fond of ; intending as well the Engaging the Parliament in the War, as the Prosecution of the Earl of *Middlesex*.

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I,

But the Duke's power (supported by the Prince's countenance) was grown so great in the two Houses, that it was in vain for the King to interpose; and so (notwithstanding so good a Defence made by the Earl, that he was absolved from any notorious Crime, by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the Evidence) he was at last condemned in a great Fine, to a long and strict Imprisonment, and never to sit in Parliament during his Life; a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of Parliament, and, in truth not to be inflicted upon any Peer but by Attainder.

How much alienated soever the King's Affection was in truth from the Duke, upon these three Provocations; (1) The Prince's journey into *Spain*; (2) the engaging the Parliament to break the Match, and Treaty with *Spain*, and to make war against that Crown; and (3) The Sacrificing the Earl of *Middlesex* in such a manner, upon his Own animosity; yet he was so far from thinking fit to manifest it (except in whispers to very few men) that he was prevailed with to restrain the Earl of *Bristol* upon his first arrival, without permitting him to come into his Presence, which he had positively promised, and resolved to do; and in the end suffered his Attorney General to exhibit a charge of High Treason, in his Majesty's name, against the said Earl, who was thereupon committed to the Tower; but so little dejected with it, that he answered the Articles with great steadiness and unconcernedness, and exhibited another, charge of High Treason against the Duke, in many particulars.

And in this Order and Method the War was hastily

The Earl of
Bristol Accut-
ed in Parlia-
ment.

Accuses the
Duke.

entered into against *Spain*, and a new Treaty set on foot for the Prince of *Wales* with the Daughter of *France*; which was quickly Concluded, though not fully Completed till after the death of King *James*; who, in the Spring following, after a short indisposition by the Gout, fell into an Ague, which meeting many humors in a fat, unwieldy body of 58 years old, in four or five Fits, carried him out of the world. After whose death many scandalous, and libellous Discourses were raised, without the least color, or ground; as appeared upon the strictest and most malicious Examination that could be made, long after, in a time of Licence, when no body was afraid of offending Majesty, and when prosecuting the highest Reproaches, and Contumelies against the Royal Family, was held very meritorious.

Upon the death of King *James*, *Charles* Prince of *Wales* succeeded to the Crown, with as universal Joy in the People as can be imagined, and in a Conjunction, when all the other Parts of *Christendom*, being engaged in War, were very solicitous for his Friendship; and the more, because he had already discovered an Activity, that was not like to suffer him to sit still. The Duke continued in the Same degree of Favor 'at the least, with the Son, which he enjoyed so many years under the Father. A rare Felicity! seldom known, and in which the expectation of very many was exceedingly disappointed; who, knowing the great jealousy and indignation, that the Prince had heretofore conceived against the Duke, for having been once very near Striking him, expected that he would Now remember that Info-

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I.

K. James dies:

Prince Charles
succeeds him.
the Duke con-
tinuing in
Favor.

B O O K
I.

lence, of which he Then so often complained; without considering the opportunity the Duke had, by the conversation with the Prince, during his journey into *Spain* (which was so grateful to him) and whilst he was there, to wipe out the memory of all former Oversight by making them appear to be of a less magnitude than they had been understood before, and to be excusable from other causes, still being severe enough to himself for his Unwary part, whatsoever excuses he might make for the Excess: and by this means to make new Vows for himself, and to tie new Knots to restrain the Prince from future jealousies. And it is very true, his hopes in this kind never failed him; the new King from the death of the old, even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire Confidence in, and even Friendship to Him, that ever King had showed to any Subject: all Preferments in Church and State given by him; all his Kindred, and Friends promoted to the degree in Honor, or Riches, or Offices, that He thought fit, and all his Enemies and Enviars [discountenanced, as He appointed.

King Charles'
First Parlia-
ment called.

But a Parliament was necessary to be called, as at the entrance of all Kings to the Crown, for the continuance of some Supplies and Revenue to the King, which have been still used to be granted in that season. And now he quickly found how Prophetic the last King's Predictions had proved, and were like to prove. The Parliament that had so rashly advanced the War, and so passionately adhered to his Person, was now no more; and though the House of Peers consisted still of the same men, and most of the principal men of the House of Commons were again elected to

serve in this Parliament, yet they were far from
wedding the War, or taking themselves to be concerned to make good any Declaration made by the former; So that though the War was entered In, all hope of obtaining money to carry it On was even desperate; and the affection they had for the Duke, and confidence in him, was not Then so manifest, as the Prejudice they had Now, and animosity against him, was visible to all the world: All the Actions of his life ripped up, and surveyed, and all malicious Glosses made upon all he had said, and all he had done: Votes and Remonstrances passed against him as an Enemy to the Public; and his ill Management made the ground of their Refusal to give the King that Supply he had reason to expect, and was absolutely necessary to the state he was in. And this kind of treatment was so ill suited to the Duke's great Spirit, which indeed might have easily been Bowed, but could very hardly be broken, that it wrought contrary effects upon his high mind, and indignation, to find himself so used by the same Men. For they who flattered him most Before, mentioned him Now with the greatest bitterness and acrimony; and the same Men who had called him our Saviour, for bringing the prince safe out of *Spain*, called him now the Corrupter of the King, and Betrayer of the Liberties of the People, without imputing the least crime to him; to have been committed since the time of that exalted Adulation, or that was not then as much known to them, as it could be now: so fluctuating and unsteady a testimony is the Applause of Popular Councils.

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I.

That Parlia-
ment and the
next, Dissolved
on account of
the Duke.

This indignation, I say, so transported the Duke, that he thought necessary to publish and manifest a greater Contempt of Them, than he should have done; causing this and the next Parliament to be quickly Dissolved, as soon as they seemed to entertain Counsels not grateful to him, and before he could well determine, and judge, what their Temper was in truth like to prove: and upon every Dissolution, Such as had given any Offence, were Imprisoned, or Disgraced; new Projects were every day set on foot for Money, which served only to offend, and incesse the People and brought little supplies to the King's occasions; yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint, to be exposed when other supplies should be required. And many Persons, of the best quality and condition under the Peerage, were Committed to several Prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay Money required by those extraordinary ways; and the Duke himself would passionately Say, and frequently Do many things, which only grieved his Friends, and incensed his Enemies, and gave them as well the Ability, as the Inclination to do him much Harm.

A War de-
clared with
France.

In this fatal Conjunction, and after many several costly Embassies into *France*, in the last of which the Duke himself went, and brought triumphantly home with him the Queen to the joy of the Nation; in a time, when all endeavours should have been used to have extinguished that War, in which the King was so unhappily engaged against *Spain*, a new War was as precipitately declared against *France*, and the Fleet, that had been unwarily designed to have

Surprised *Cadiz*, under a General very unequal to B O O K
 that great work, was no sooner returned without I.
 success, and with much damage, than it was repaired,
 and the Army reinforced for the Invasion of *France*;
 in which the Duke was General himself, and made
 that unfortunate Descent upon the Isle of *Re*, which
 was quickly afterwards attended with many unprof-
 perous Attempts, and then with a miserable Retreat;
 in which the Flower of the Army was lost. So that
 how ill soever *Spain* and *France* were inclined to each
 other, they were both bitter Enemies to *England*;
 whilst *England* itself was so totally taken up with the
 thought of Revenge upon the Person who they
 thought had been the Cause of their Distress, that
 they never considered, that the sad effects of it (if
 not instantly provided against) must inevitably
 Destroy the Kingdom: and gave no truce to their
 Rage, till the Duke finished his course, by a wicked
 Assassination in the fourth year of the King, and the
 thirty-sixth of his Age.

John *Felton*, and obscure man in his own person, The Assasina-
 who had been bred a Soldier, and lately a Lieuten- tion of the
 ant of a Foot-company, whose Captain had been Duke of
 killed upon the Retreat at the Isle of *Re*, upon Buckingham.
 which he conceived that the Company of right
 ought to have been conferred upon Him, and it
 being refused to him by the Duke of *Buckingham*,
 General of the Army, had given up his Commis-
 sion of Lieutenant, and withdrawn himself from the
 Army. He was of a melancholic nature, and had
 little conversation with any body, yet of a Gentle-
 man's family in *Suffolk*, of good fortune and reputa-

B O O K I. tion. From the time that he had quitted the Army, he resided in *London*; when the House of Commons, transported with Passion and Prejudice against the Duke of *Buckingham*, had accused him to the House of Peers for several Misdemeanours, and Miscarriages, and in some Declaration had styled him "the cause of all the Evils the Kingdom suffered, and an Enemy to the Public."

Some Transcripts of such Expressions (for the late Licence of Printing all mutinous and seditious Discourses was not yet in fashion) and some general Invectives he met with amongst the People, to whom that great Man was not grateful, wrought so far upon this melancholic Gentleman, that by degrees, and (as he said upon some of his Examinations) by frequently hearing some popular Preachers in the City (who yet were not arrived at the Presumption, and Impudence, they have been Since transported with) he believed he should do God good service, if he Killed the Duke; which he shortly after resolved to do. He chose no other Instrument to do itwith, than an ordinary Knife, which he bought of a common Cutler for a Shilling: and thus provided he repaired to *Portsmouth*, where he arrived the Eve of *St. Bartholomew*. The Duke was then there, in order to Prepare and make Ready the Fleet, and the Army, with which he resolved in few days to transport himself to the Relief of *Rochelle*, which was then straitly besieged by the Cardinal *Richelieu*; and for the Relief whereof the Duke was the more obliged, by reason that, at his being at the Isle of *Re*, he had received great Sup-

plies of Victuals, and some Companies of their Gar- B O O K
rison from that Town, the want of both which they I.
were at this time very sensible of, and grieved at.

This morning of *St. Bartholomew* the Duke had received Letters, in which he was advertised that *Rochelle* had Relieved itself; upon which he directed that his Breakfast might speedily be made ready, and he would make haste to acquaint the King with the good news, the Court being then at *Southwick*, the House of Sir *Daniel Norton*, five miles from *Portsmouth*. The chamber wherein he was dressing himself, was full of company, of Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Fleet and Army.

There was Monsieur *de Soubize* Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, and other *French* Gentlemen, who were very solicitous for the Embarcation of the Army, and for the Departure of the Fleet for the Relief of *Rochelle*: and they were at that time in much trouble and perplexity, out of apprehension that the news the Duke had received that morning might slacken the preparations for the Voyage, which their Impatience, and Interest persuaded them were not advanced with expedition; and so they had held much discourse with the Duke of the impossibility that his Intelligence could be true, and that it was contrived by the artifice and dexterity of their Enemies, in order to abate the warmth and zeal that was used for their Relief, the arrival of which Relief those Enemies had so much reason to apprehend; and a longer Delay in sending it would ease them of that terrible apprehension, their Forts and Works toward the Sea, and in the Harbour, being almost finished.

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This discourse, according to the natural custom of that Nation, and by the usual Dialect of that Language, was held with that Passion, and Vehemence, that the standers by, who understood not *French*, did believe that they were angry, and that they used the Duke rudely. He being ready, and informed that his Breakfast was ready, drew towards the door, where the hangings were held up; and, in that very Passage, turning himself to speak with Sir *Thomas Frier*, a Colonel of the Army, who was then speaking near his ear, he was on the sudden Struck over his shoulder upon the Breast with a Knife; upon which, without using any other words, but, *The Villain hath Killed me*; and in the same moment pulling out the Knife himself, he fell down dead, the Knife having pierced his Heart.

No man had seen the Blow, or the Man who gave it, but in the confusion they were in, every man made his own conjecture, and declared it as a thing known; most agreeing that it was done by the *French*, from the angry discourse they thought they had heard from them. And it was a kind of a Miracle, that they were not all Killed in that instant; the Sober sort, that preserved them from it, having the same opinion of their Guilt, and only reserving them for a more Judicial Examination and Proceeding.

In the Crowd, near the door, there was found upon the ground a Hat, in the inside whereof there was sowed upon the crown a Paper, in which were writ four or five lines of that Declaration made by the House of Commons, in which they had stiled the Duke an Enemy to the Kingdom; and under it

a

a short Ejaculation or two towards a Prayer. It was easily enough concluded that the Hat belonged to the Person who had committed the Murder: but the difficulty remained still as great, Who that person should be; for the writing discovered nothing of the Name, and wholoever it was, it was very natural to believe, that he was gone far enough, not to be found without a Hat.

In this Hurry, one running one way, another another way, a Man was seen walking before the door very composedly Without a Hat; whereupon one crying out, *Here is the Fellow that Killed the Duke;* upon which others run thither, every body asking, *Which is He? Which is He?* to which the Man without the Hat very composedly answered, *I am He.* Thereupon some of those who were most Furious, suddenly run upon the man with their drawn swords to Kill him; but others, who were at least equally concerned in the Loss, and in the Sense of it. defended him; Himself with open arms very calmly and cheerfully exposing himself to the Fury and Swords of the most enraged, as being very willing to fall a Sacrifice to their sudden Anger, rather than to be kept for that deliberate Justice, which he knew must be executed upon him.

He was now known enough, and easily discovered to be that *Felton*, whom we mentioned before, who had been a Lieutenant in the Army: He was quickly carried into a private room by the persons of the best condition, some whereof were in Authority, who first thought fit so far to dissemble, as to mention the Duke only grievously Wounded, but

B O O K not without hope of Recovery. Upon which *Felton*
1. smiled, and said, he knew well enough he had given him a Blow that had Determined all their Hopes. Being then asked (which was the discovery principally aimed at) by whose Instigation he had performed that horrid and wicked act; he answered them with a wonderful assurance, "That they should
" not trouble themselves in that Inquiry; that no
" man living had credit or power enough with him
" to have engaged, or disposed him to such an
" action; that he had never intrusted his purpose and
" resolution to any man; that it proceeded only from
" Himself, and the impulse of his own Conscience;
" and that the Motives thereunto would appear, if
" his Hat were found, in which he had therefore
" fixed them, because he believed it very probable
" that he might perish in the Attempt. He confessed
" that he had come to the Town but the night
" before, and had kept his lodging, that he might
" not be seen, or taken notice of: and that he had
" come that morning to the Duke's lodging, where
" he had waited at the door for his coming out; and
" when he found, by the motions within, that he
" was coming, he drew to the door, as if he held
" up the hanging; and Sir *Thomas Frier* speaking
" with the Duke, as hath been said, and being of a
" much lower stature than the Duke, who a little
" inclined towards him, he took the opportunity
" of giving the Blow over His shoulders."

He spoke very frankly of what he had done, and bore the reproaches of those who spoke to him, with the temper of a man who thought he had not done

amils. But after he had been in Prison some time, where he was treated without any rigor, and with humanity enough; and before, and at his Trial, which was about four months after, at the King's bench Bar, he behaved himself with great modesty and wonderful repentance; being, as he said, convinced in his conscience, that he had done Wickedly, and asked the pardon of the King, and Ducheſs, and of all the Duke's Servants, whom he acknowledged to have offended; and very earnestly besought the Judges that he might have his hand struck off, with which he had performed that impious act, before he should be put to death.

The Court was too near *Portsmouth*, and too many Courtiers upon the place, to have this Murder (so barbarous in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in *England* many ages) long concealed from the King. His Majesty was at the public Prayers of the Church, when Sir *John Hippeſtry* came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and without any pause, in respect of the Exercise they were performing, went directly to the King, and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His Majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till Prayers were ended; when he suddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the Loss he had of an excellent Servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him: and he continued in this melancholic discomposure of mind many days.

The King's
receiving the
news of the
Duke's death.

BOOK

1.

Yet his manner of receiving the news in Public, when it was first brought him in the presence of so many (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expressed upon his retreat) made many men believe, that the accident was not very ungrateful; at least, that it was very indifferent to him; as being rid of a Servant very ungracious to the People, and the prejudice to whose Person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in Parliament for his service.

And, upon this observation, Persons of all conditions took great licence in speaking of the person of the Duke, and dissecting all his infirmities, believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the King's. In which they took very ill measures; for from that time almost to the time of his own death, the King admitted very few into any degree of trust, who had ever discovered themselves to be Enemies to the Duke, or against whom he had manifested a notable prejudice. And sure never any Prince expressed a more lively regret for the Loss of a Servant, than his Majesty did for this great Man, in his constant favor and kindness to his Wife and Children; in all offices of grace towards his Servants; and in a wonderful solicitous care for the Payment of his Debts; which, it is very true, were Contracted for his Majesty's service; though in such a manner, that there remained no evidence of it, nor were any of the Duke's Officers intrusted with the knowledge of it, nor any record kept of it, but in the King's own generous memory.

After
the Duke.

This great man was a Person of a Noble nature, and Generous disposition, and of such other Endow-

ments, as made him very capable of being a great Favorite to a great King. He understood the Arts of a Court; and all the Learning that is professed There, exactly well. By long practise in business, under a Master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in Indoctrinating his young unexperienced Favorite, who, he knew, would be always looked upon as the Workmanship of his Own hands, He had obtained a quick conception, and apprehension of Business, and had the habit of Speaking very gracefully, and pertinently. He was of a most flowing Courtesy and Affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to Oblige them, that he did not enough consider the Value of the obligation, or the Merit of the person he chose to oblige; from which, much of his Misfortune resulted. He was of a Courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his Actions, and in his Contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation; and especially in his whole demeanour at the Isle of *Re*, both at the Landing, and upon the Retreat; in both which no man was more fearless, or more ready to expose himself to the highest dangers. His Kindness, and Affection to his Friends was so vehement, that they were as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his Friends, and to make war upon all They were angry with, let the cause be what it would. And it cannot be denied, that he was an Enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his

B O O K Enemies, with the utmost rigor and animosity; and
I. was not easily induced to reconciliation. And yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular. And when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any Diffimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered, till he had attained his revenge (the low method of Courts) that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office, before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity, that the person found it in his power to receive further satisfaction, in the way he would chuse for himself.

In this manner he proceeded with the Earl of *Oxford*, a man of great Name in that time, and whom he had endeavoured by many civil offices to make his Friend, and who seemed equally to incline to the Friendship: when he discovered (or, as many thought, but suspected) that the Earl was entered into some Cabal in Parliament against him; he could not be dissuaded by any of his Friends, to whom he imparted his resolution, but meeting the Earl the next day, he took him aside, and after many reproaches for such and such ill offices he had done him, and for Breaking his Word towards him, he told him, "he would rely no longer on His Friendship, nor should He expect any further Friendship from him, but on the contrary, he would be for ever his Enemy, and do him all the mischief he could. The Earl, (who, as many thought, had not been Faulty towards him, was as Great-hearted

as He, and thought the very Suspecting him to be an injury Unpardonable) without any reply to the particulars, declared " that he neither cared for his " Friendship, nor feared his Hatred;" and from thence avowedly entered into the conversation, and confidence of Those who were always awake to Discover, and solicitous to Pursue any thing that might prove to his Disadvantage; which was of Evil consequence to the Duke; the Earl being of the most Ancient of the Nobility, and a man of great Courage, and of a Family which had in no time swerved from its Fidelity to the Crown.

Sir Francis *Cottington*, who was Secretary to the Prince, and not grown Courtier enough to dissemble his opinion, had given the Duke Offence, before his journey into *Spain*, as is before touched upon, and Improved that prejudice after his coming thither, by disposing the Prince all he could to the Marriage of the Infanta; and by his behaviour after his return, in justifying to King *James*, who had a very good opinion of him, the Sincerity of the *Spaniard* in the Treaty of the Marriage, " That they did in truth desire it, and were fully resolved to gratify his Majesty " in the Business of the *Palatinate*, and only desired, " in the Manner of it, to gratify the Emperor, and " the Duke of *Bavaria*, all they could; which would " take up very little time." All which being so Contrary to the Duke's purposes and resolutions, his Displeasure to *Cottington* was sufficiently manifest. And King *James* was no sooner dead, and the new Officers, and Orders made, but the Profits, and Privileges, which had used to be continued to him who

BOOK had been Secretary, till some other Promotion, were
I. all retrenched. And when he was one morning
Attending in the Privy lodgings, as he was accus-
tomed to do, one of the Secretaries of State came
to him, and told him, "that it was the King's Plea-
" sure, he should no more presume to come into
" those Rooms " (which was the first instance he
had received of the King's Disfavor) and at the same
instant the Duke entered into that Quarter: Sir *Francis*
Cottington addressed himself towards him, and desired
" he would give him leave to speak to him;" upon
which the Duke inclining his ear, moved to a window
from the Company; and the other told him, " that
" he received every day fresh Marks of his Severity;"
mentioned the Message, which had been then deli-
ver'd to him, and desired only to know, " Whether
" it could not be in his power, by all dutiful Ap-
" plication, and all possible Service, to be restored
" to the good Opinion his Grace had once vouch-
" safed to have of him, and to be admitted to Serve
" him?" The Duke heard him without the least
Commotion, and with a countenance serene enough,
and then answered him, " That he would deal very
" clearly with him; that it was utterly impossible to
" bring that to pass which he had Proposed: That
" he was not only firmly resolved Never to trust him,
" or to have to do with him, but that he was, and
" would be always his declared Enemy: and that
" he would do always whatsoever should be in his
" power to Ruin and Destroy him, and of this he
" might be most assured:" without mentioning any
particular ground for his so heightened Displeasure.

The Other very Calmly replied to him (as he was Master of an incomparable Temper) "That since he was resolved Never to do him Good, he hoped from his Justice, and Generosity, that he would not suffer himself to Gain by his Loss; That he had laid out, by his command, so much money for Jewels, and Pictures, which he had received: and that, in hope of his future Favor, he had once presented a Suit of Hangings to him, which cost him good, which he hoped he would cause to be restored to him, and that he would not let him be so great a Loser by him." The Duke answered, "he was in the right; that he should the next morning go to *Oliver* (who was his Receiver) and give him a particular account of all the Money due to him, and he should presently pay him;" which was done the next morning accordingly, without the least abatement of any of his demands.

And he was so far Reconciled to him before his death, that being resolved to make Peace with *Spain*, to the end he might more vigorously pursue the War with *France* (to which his heart was most passionately fixed) he sent for *Cottington* to come to him, and after conference with him, told him, "the King would send him Ambassador thither, and that he should attend him at *Portsmouth* for his Despatch.

His single Misfortune was (which indeed was productive of many greater) that he never made a noble and a worthy Friendship with a Man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his Honor, and true Interest, against the current, or

B O O K rather the torrent of his Impetuous Passions; which
I. was partly the Vice of the Time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of Excellent Men; and partly the Vice of the Persons, who were most worthy to be applied to, and looked upon his Youth, and his Obscurity before his Rise, as Obligations upon him to gain their Friendships by extraordinary Application. Then his Ascent was so quick, that it seemed rather a Flight than a Growth, and he was such a Darling of Fortune, that he was at the Top, before he was well seen at the Bottom; and as if he had been Born a Favorite, he was Supreme the first Month he came to Court; and it was want of Confidence, not of Credit, that he had not all at first, which he obtained afterwards; never meeting with the least Obstruction from his Setting out, till he was as Great as he could be: So that he wanted Dependants before he thought he could want Coadjutors. Nor was he very Fortunate in the election of those Dependants, very few of his Servants having been ever qualified enough to Assist or Advise him; and they were intent only upon growing Rich under him, not upon their Master's growing Good, as well as Great: Infomuch as he was throughout his Fortune a much Wiser Man, than any Servant or Friend he had.

Let the Fault or Misfortune be what, or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with One Faithful Friend, who had been qualified with Wisdom and Integrity, that great Person would have committed as few Faults, and done as transcendent worthy Actions, as any Man

who shined in such a Sphere in that Age in *Europe*. B O O K
I.
For he was of an excellent Disposition, and of a Mind very capable of Advice and Counsel: He was in his Nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known, that the temptation of Money swayed him to do an unjust, or unkind thing. And though he left a very great Estate to his Heirs; considering the vast Fortune he inherited by his Wife, the sole Daughter, and Heir of *Francis Earl of Rutland*, he owed no part of it to his Own Industry, or Solicitation; but to the Impatient Humor of two Kings his Masters, who would make his Fortune equal to his Titles, and the one as much above other Men, as the other was. And he considered it no otherwise than as Theirs, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of it, as is touched upon before.

If he had an immoderate Ambition, with which he was charged, and is a Weed (if it be a Weed) apt to grow in the best Soils: it doth not appear that it was in his Nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a Garment necessary for that Air. Nor was it more in his power to be without Promotion, and Titles, and Wealth, than for a healthy Man to sit in the Sun, in the brightest Dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no Ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two Such Masters.

There are two particulars, which lie heaviest upon his Memory, either of them aggravated by Circumstances very important, and which administer frequent occasions by their Effects to be remembered.

B O O K The First, his Engaging his old unwilling Master
I. and the Kingdom in the War with *Spain* (not to mention the bold Journey thither, or the Breach of that Match) in a time when the Crown was so poor, and the People more inclined to a bold inquiry, How it came to be so, than dutiful to provide for its Supply: and this only upon Personal Animosities between Him, and the Duke of *Olivarez*, the sole Favorite in that Court, and those Animosities from very Trivial provocations, which flowed indeed from no other Fountain, than that the Nature and Education of *Spain* restrained Men from that Gaiety, and Frolic humor, to which the Prince's Court was more inclined. And *Olivarez* had been heard to Censure very severely the Duke's Familiarity, and Want of Respect towards the Prince (a Crime monstrous to the *Spaniard*) and had said, that "if the Infanta did not, as soon as she was married, suppress that Licence, she would her Self quickly undergo the Mischief of it:" Which gave the first alarm to the Duke to apprehend his own Ruin in that Union, and accordingly to use all his endeavours to Break and Prevent it: and from that time he took all occasions to Quarrel with, and Reproach the Conde Duke.

One morning the King desired the Prince to take the Air, and to visit a little House of Pleasure he had (the *Prado*) four miles from *Madrid*, standing in a Forest, where he used sometimes to Hunt; and the Duke not being ready, the King and the Prince and the Infante Don *Carlos* went into the Coach, the King likewise calling the Earl of *Bristol* into that

Coach to assist them in their Conversation, the Prince then not Speaking any *Spanish*; and left *Olivarez* to follow in the Coach with the Duke of *Buckingham*. When the Duke came, they went into the Coach, accompanied with Others of both Nations, and proceeded very cheerfully towards the overtaking the King; but when upon the way he heard, that the Earl of *Bristol* was in the Coach with the King, he broke out into a great Passion, reviled the Conde Duke as the Contriver of the Affront, reproached the Earl of *Bristol* for his Presumption, in taking the Place which in all respects belonged to Him, who was joined with him as Ambassador extraordinary, and came last from the Presence of his Master, and resolved to go out of the Coach and to return to *Madrid*. *Olivarez* easily discovered by the disorder and the noise, and the tone, that the Duke was very Angry, without comprehending the Cause of it; Only found that the Earl of *Bristol* was often named with Such a tone, that he begun to suspect what in truth might be the cause. And thereupon he commanded a Gentleman, who was on Horseback, with all speed to overtake the King's Coach, and desire that it might stay; intimating that the Duke had taken some Displeasure, the ground whereof was not enough understood. Upon which the King's Coach stayed, and when the other approached within distance, the Conde Duke alighted, and acquainted the King with what he had observed, and what he conceived. The King himself alighted; made great Compliments to the Duke, the Earl of *Bristol* Excusing himself upon the King's Command,

BOOK

I.

B O O K that he should serve as Interpreter. In the end Don
I. *Carlos* went into the Coach with the Favorite, and the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol* went with the King, and the Prince; and so they prosecuted their journey, and after Dinner returned in the same manner to *Madrid*.

This with all the Circumstances of it administered wonderful occasion of Discourse in the Court and Country, there never having been such a Comet seen in that Hemisphere; their submissive Reverence to their Princes being a vital part of their Religion.

There were very few days passed afterwards, in which there was not some manifestation of the highest Displeasure, and Hatred in the Duke against the Earl of *Bristol*. And when the Conde Duke had some *eclaircissement* with the Duke, in which he made all the Protestations of his sincere Affection, and his desire to maintain a clear and faithful Friendship with him, which he conceived might be, in some degree, useful to both their Masters; the Other received his Protestations with all Contempt, and declared, with a very unnecessary frankness, "that he would have no Friendship with him."

The next day after the King returned from accompanying the Prince towards the Sea, where, at parting, there were all possible demonstrations of mutual Affection between them; the King caused a fair Pillar to be erected in the Place where they Last embraced each other, with Inscriptions of great Honor to the Prince; there being then in that Court not the least Suspicion, or Imagination, that the Marriage would not Succeed. Inomuch that after-

wards, upon the news from *Rome* that the Dispensation was granted, the Prince having left the Desponforios in the hands of the Earl of *Bristol*; in which the Infante Don *Carlos* was constituted the Prince's Proxy to Marry the Infanta on his behalf; She was treated as Princess of *Walis*, the Queen gave her place, and the *English* Ambassador had frequent Audiences, as with his Mistress, in which he would Not be covered: Yet, I say, the very next day after the Prince's departure from the King, Mr. *Clark*, one of the Prince's Bed-chamber, who had formerly served the Duke, was sent back to *Madrid*, upon Pretence that somewhat was forgotten there, but in Truth, with orders to the Earl of *Bristol* not to deliver the Desponforios (which, by the Articles, he was obliged to do, within fifteen days after the arrival of the Dispensation) until he should receive further orders from the Prince, or King, after his Return into *England*.

Mr. *Clark* was not to deliver this Letter to the Ambassador, till he was sure the Dispensation was come; of which he could not be advertised in the instant. But he lodging in the Ambassador's house, and falling sick of a Calenture, which the Physicians thought would prove mortal, he sent for the Earl to come to his Bed-side, and delivered him the Letter before the arrival of the Dispensation, though long after it was known to be granted; upon which all those Ceremonies were performed to the Infanta.

By these Means, and by this Method, this great Affair, upon which the Eyes of *Christendom* had

B O O K been so long fixed, came to be Dissolved, without
 1. the least mixture with, or contribution from those Amours, which were afterwards so confidently discoursed of. For though the Duke was naturally carried violently to those Passions, when there was any grace or beauty in the Object, yet the Dutcheſs of *Olivarez*, of whom was the talk, was then a Woman so old, past Children, of so abject a presence, in a word, so crooked and deformed, that she could neither tempt his Appetite, nor magnify his Revenge. And whatsoever he did afterwards in *England* was but *tueri opus*, and to prosecute the Design he had, upon the Reason and Provocation aforesaid, so long before contrived during his abode in *Spain*.

The Other particular, by which he involved himself in so many Fatal Intricacies, from which he could Never extricate himself, was, his running violently into the War with *France*, without any kind of Provocation, and upon a Particular Passion very unwarrantable. In his Embassy in *France*, where his Person and Presence was wonderfully admired, and esteemed (and in truth it was a Wonder in the eyes of all men) and in which he appeared with all the Lustre the Wealth of *England* could adorn him with, and Outshined all the bravery that Court could dress itself in, and Overacted the whole Nation in their own most peculiar Vanities: He had the Ambition to fix his Eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent Affection to a Lady of a very sublime Quality, and to pursue it with most importunate Addresses; Infomuch as when the King had brought
 the

the Queen his Sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into *England*; the Duke, in his journey, after the departure from that Court, took a resolution once more to make a Visit to that great Lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that Provision was made for his Reception; and if he had pursued his Attempt, he had been without doubt Assassinated; of which he had only so much notice, as served him to decline the Danger. But he Swore, in the instant, "that he would See, and Speak with" that Lady, in Spight of the Strength and Power "of *France*." And from the time that the Queen arrived in *England*, he took all the ways he could to Undervalue and Exasperate that Court and Nation, by causing all those who fled into *England* from the justice and displeasure of that King, to be received and entertained here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the Persons were, and the more notorious their King's displeasure was towards them (as in that time there were very many Lords and Ladies in those circumstances) the more respectfully they were received, and esteemed. He omitted no opportunity to Incense the King against *France*, and to dispose him to assist the Hugonots, whom he likewise encouraged to give their King some trouble.

And which was Worse than all this, he took great pains to Lessen the King's Affection towards his Young Queen, being exceedingly jealous, lest

B O O K Her Interest might be of force enough to Cross his
I. other Designs: And in this Stratagem, he so far
swerved from the Instinct of his Nature, and his
proper Inclinations, that He who was compounded
of all the elements of Affability, and Courtesy
towards all kind of People, had brought himself to
a habit of Neglect, and even of Rudeness towards
the Queen.

One day, when he unjustly apprehended that She
had showed some disrespect to his Mother, in not
going to her Lodging at an hour she had intended
to go, and was hindered by a mere accident; he came
into her Chamber in much Passion, and, after some
Expostulations rude enough, he told her, *She
should Repent it*; her Majesty answering with some
quickness, he replied Insolently to her, *that there
had been Queens in England, who had lost their Heads.*
And it was universally known, that, during His
life, the Queen never had any Credit with the King,
with reference to any Public Affairs, and so could
not Divert the Resolution of making a War with
France.

The War with *Spain* had found the Nation in a
Surfeit of a long Peace, and in a disposition Inclina-
ble enough to War with that nation, which might
put an end to an Alliance the most ungrateful to
them, and which they most feared, and from whence
no other Damage had yet befallen them, than a
Chargeable and Unsuccessful Voyage by Sea, with-
out the loss of Ships or Men. But a War with
France must be carried on at another rate, and
pense. Besides, the Nation was weary and surfeited

with the First, before the Second was entered upon; and it was very visible to Wise men, that when the general Trade of the Kingdom, from whence the Support of the Crown principally resulted, should be utterly extinguished with *France*, as it was with *Spain*, and interrupted or obstructed with all other Places (as it must be, in a great measure, in a War, how Prosperously soever carried on) the Effects would be very Sad, and Involve the King in many Perplexities; and it could not but fall out accordingly.

Upon the return from *Cadiz* without success, though all the Ships, and, upon the matter, all the Men were seen (for though some had so surfeited in the Vineyards, and with the Wines, that they had been left behind, the Generosity of the *Spaniards* sent them all home again) and though by that Fleet's putting in at *Plymouth*, near two hundred miles from *London*, there could be but very Imperfect relations, and the news of Yesterday was contradicted by the Morrow; besides that the Expedition had been undertaken by the Advice of the Parliament, and with an universal Approbation of the People, so that nobody could reasonably speak loudly against it; Yet, notwithstanding all this, the ill Success was heavily born, and imputed to ill Conduct; the principal Officers of the Fleet and Army divided amongst themselves, and All united in their murmurs against the General, the Lord Viscount *Wimbleton*; who, though an old Officer in *Holland*, was never thought equal to the Enterprize. In a word, there was Indisposition enough quickly discovered against the War

B O O K L itself, that it was easily discerned, it would not be pursued with the vigor it was entered into, nor carried on by any cheerful contribution of money from the Public.

But the running into this War with *France* (from whence the Queen was so newly, and joyfully received) without any color of Reason, or so much as the formality of a Declaration from the King, containing the ground, and provocation, and end of it, according to custom and obligation in the like cases (for it was observed that the Manifesto which was published was in the Duke's own Name, who went Admiral and General of the Expedition) opened the mouths of all men, to Inveigh against it with all Bitterness, and the sudden ill Effects of it, manifested in the Return of the Fleet to *Portsmouth*, within Such a distance of *London*, that nothing could be Concealed of the Loss sustained; in which, Most noble Families found a Son, or a Brother, or near Kinsman wanting, without such Circumstances of their deaths, as are usually the Consolations, and Recompences of such Catastrophes. The Retreat had been a Rout without an Enemy, and the *French* had Their revenge by the Disorder, and Confusion of the *English* themselves; in which, great numbers of Noble and Ignoble were crowded to death, or drowned without the help of an Enemy: and as some thousands of the Common men were wanting, so few of those Principal Officers, who attained to a Name in War, and by whose Courage and Experience any war was to be conducted, could be found.

The effects of this overthrow did not at first appear

in whispers, murmurs, and invectives, as the Retreat from *Cadiz* had done; but produced such a general Consternation over the face of the whole Nation, as if all the Armies of *France* and *Spain* were united together, and had covered the Land. Mutinies in the Fleet and Army, under pretence of their want of Pay (whereof no doubt there was much due to them) but in truth, out of detestation of the Service, and the Authority of the Duke. The Counties throughout the Kingdom were so incensed, and their affections poisoned, that they refused to suffer the Soldiers to be billeted upon them; by which, they often underwent greater inconveniencies and mischiefs, than they endeavoured to prevent. The endeavour to raise new men for the recruit of the Army by Pressing (the usual method, that had commonly been practised upon such occasions) found opposition in many places; and the Authority by which it was done not submitted to, as being counted illegal. This produced a resort to Martial Law, by which many were executed; which raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people. And this distemper was so universal, that the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, all wise men looked upon it as the Prediction of the Destruction, and Dissolution, that would follow. Nor was there a Serenity in the Countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to consider things to come; but only in those who wished the destruction of the Duke, and thought it could not be purchased

B O O K at too dear a price, and looked upon this flux of
I. humors as an inevitable way to bring it to pass.

And it cannot be denied, that from these two Wars so wretchedly entered into, and the circumstances before mentioned, and which flowed from thence, the Duke's ruin took its date; and never left pursuing him, till that execrable act upon his person: the malice whereof was contracted by that sole evil Spirit of the time, without any partner in the Conspiracy. And the Venom of That season increased and got vigor; until, from one Licence to another, it proceeded till the Nation was corrupted to that monstrous degree, that it grew Satiated, and weary of the Government itself; under which it had enjoyed a greater measure of Felicity, than any Nation was ever possessed of; and which could never be continued to them, but under the same Government. And as these calamities Originally sprung from the Inordinate appetite and passion of this young man, under the too much easiness of two indulgent Masters, and the concurrence of a thousand other accidents; so, if he had lived longer, the observation and experience he had gained, which had very much improved his Understanding, with the Greatness of his spirit, and Jealousy of his Master's honor (to whom his Fidelity was Superior to any temptation) might have repaired many of the Inconveniencies, which he had introduced, and would have prevented the Mischiefs which were the natural effects of those causes.

An account
 of a Prediction
 of the Duke's
 death.

There were many Stories scattered abroad at that time, of several Prophecies, and Predictions of the

Duke's untimely and violent death. Amongst the rest there was one, which was upon a better foundation of credit, than usually such discourses are founded upon. There was an Officer in the King's Wardrobe in *Windfor* Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the Age of fifty years or more: this Man had, in his youth, been bred in a School, in the Parish where Sir *George Villiers* the father of the Duke lived; and had been much cherished and obliged, in that season of his Age, by the said Sir *George*, whom afterwards he never saw. About six months before the miserable end of the Duke of *Buckingham*, about midnight, this Man, being in his bed, at *Windfor* where his Office was, and in a very good health, there appeared to him on the side of his bed, a Man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his Eyes upon him, asked him, If he knew him. The poor Man, half dead with fear, and apprehension, being asked the second time, Whether he remembered him? and having in that time called to his memory the presence of Sir *George Villiers*, and the very Clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered him, That he thought him to be that person. He replied, "he was in the right; that he was the same, and that he expected a service from him; which was, that he should go from Him to his son the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tell him, if he did not somewhat to ingratiate himself to the People, or, at least, to abate the extreme Malice they had against him, he would be suffered to live but a

BOOK I. "short time." After this discourse he disappeared; and the poor Man, if he had been at all waking, slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

The next night, or shortly after, the same Person appeared to him again in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before; and asked him, Whether he had done as he had required him? and perceiving he had not, gave him very severe reprehensions; told him, "He expected more compliance from him; and that if he did not perform his Commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should be always pursued by him:" upon which, he promised him to obey him. But the next morning waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing still to persuade himself that he had only dreamed: and considered, that he was a person at such a distance from the Duke, that he knew not how to find any admission to his presence; much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say. So with great trouble and uneasiness, he spent some time in thinking what he should do; and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

The same Person appeared to him the third time with a terrible Countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor Man had by this time recovered the courage to tell him, "That in truth he had deferred the execution of his Commands, upon con-

“ fidering, how difficult a thing it would be for him
 “ to get any accefs to the Duke, having acquaint-
 “ ance with no perfon about him; and if he could
 “ obtain admiffion to him, he fhould never be able
 “ to perfuade him, that he was fent in Such a man-
 “ ner; but he fhould, at beft, be thought to be mad,
 “ or to be fet on and employed, by his own or the
 “ malice of other Men, to abufe the Duke; and fo
 “ he fhould be fure to be undone.” The Perfon
 replied, as he had done before, “ That he fhould
 “ never find reft, till he fhould perform what He
 “ required; and therefore he were better to defpatch
 “ it: that the accefs to his Son was known to be
 “ very eafy; and that few Men waited long for him;
 “ and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him
 “ two or three particulars, which he charged him
 “ never to mention to any Perfon living, but to the
 “ Duke himfelf; and He fhould no fooner hear them,
 “ but he would believe all the reft he fhould fay:
 “ and fo repeating his threats he left him.”

In the morning, the poor Man, more confirmed
 by the laft Appearance, made his journey to *Lon-
 don*; where the Court then was. He was very well
 known to Sir *Ralph Freeman*, one of the Mafters of
 Requests, who had Married a Lady that was nearly
 allied to the Duke, and was himfelf well received
 by him. To him this Man went; and though he
 did not acquaint him with all particulars, he faid
 enough to him to let him fee there was fomewhat
 extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of
 the fobriety, and difcretion of the Man, made the
 more impreffion in him. He defired, that, “ by His

B O O K " means he might be brought to the Duke; to such
I. " a place, and in such a manner, as should be thought
" fit:" affirming, " That he had much to say to
" him; and of such a Nature, as would require
" much privacy, and some time and patience in the
" hearing." Sir *Ralph* promised " He would speak
" first with the Duke of him, and then he should
" understand his pleasure:" and accordingly, in the
first opportunity, he did inform him of the Reputation and Honesty of the Man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter. The Duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him, " That he was the next day early
" to Hunt with the King; that his Horses should
" attend him at *Lambeth-Bridge*, where he would
" Land by five of the Clock in the morning; and if
" the Man attended him there at that hour, he
" would walk, and speak with him, as long as should
" be necessary." Sir *Ralph* carried the Man with him the next morning, and presented him to the Duke at his landing, who received him courteously; and walked aside in conference near an hour, none but his own Servants being at that hour in that place; and they and Sir *Ralph* at such a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the Duke sometimes spoke, and with great Commotion; which Sir *Ralph* the more easily observed, and perceived, because he kept his Eyes always fixed upon the Duke; having procured the Conference, upon somewhat he knew there was of Extraordinary. And the Man told him in his return over the water, " That when he mentioned those particulars which

“ were to gain him credit, the Substance whereof
“ he said he durst not impart to him, the Duke’s
“ color changed, and he swore he could come to
“ that knowledge only by the Devil; for that those
“ particulars were known only to himself, and to
“ one Person more, who, he was sure, would
“ never speak of it.”

The Duke pursued his purpose of Hunting; but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the Exercise he was upon: and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his Mother’s Lodgings in *White-hall*; with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the Ears of those who attended in the next rooms: and when the Duke left her, his Countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a Countenance, that was never before observed in him, in any conversation with Her, towards whom he had a profound reverence. And the Countess herself (for though she was Married to a private Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Compton*, she had been created Countess of *Buckingham*, shortly after her Son had first assumed that Title) was, at the Duke’s leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the Duke’s Murder (which happened within few months after) was brought to his Mother, she seemed not in the least degree surprised; but received it as if she had foreseen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow, as was

B O O K
I.

B O O K expected from such a Mother, for the loss of such
 I. a Son.

This Digression much longer than it was intended, may not be thought altogether improper in this Discourse. For as the mention of his Death was very pertinent, in the place, and upon the occasion, it happened to be made; so upon that occasion, it seemed the more reasonable to Digress upon the Nature, and Character, and Fortune of the Duke; as being the best mirror to discern the temper, and Spirit of that Age, and the wonderful concurrence of many fatal accidents, to disfigure the Government of two excellent Kings; under whom their Kingdoms in general prospered exceedingly, and enjoyed a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and in fuller Security, than had been in any former age.

A prospect of
 the Court and
 the Ministers
 after the
 Duke's death.

And because there was so total a change of all Counsels, and in the whole face of the Court upon the death of that mighty Favorite; all thoughts of War being presently laid aside (though there was a faint looking towards the relief of *Rochelle* by the Fleet, that was ready under the command of the Earl of *Lindsey*) and the provisions for Peace and Plenty taken to heart: It will not be unuseful, nor unpleasant, to enlarge the Digression, before a return to the proper Subject of the Discourse, by a prospect of the Constitution of the Court, after that bright Star was shot out of the Horizon: Who were the chief Ministers, that had the principal management of public affairs in Church and State; and how equal their Faculties and Qualifications were for those high Transactions; in which, mention shall be only made

of Those who were then in the highest trust; there being at that time no Ladies who had disposed themselves to intermeddle in business: and hereafter, when That activity begun, and made any progress, it will be again necessary to take a new survey of the Court, upon that alteration.

Sir *Thomas Coventry* was then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and newly made a Baron. He was a son of the Robe; his Father having been a Judge in the Court of the Common Pleas: who took great care to breed him, though his first born, in the study of the Common Law; by which he himself had been promoted to that degree; and in which, in the Society of the Inner Temple, his Son made a notable progress, by an early eminence in Practice, and Learning; insomuch as he was Recorder of *London*, Solicitor General, and King's Attorney, before he was forty years of age. A rare ascent! All which Offices he discharged with great abilities, and singular reputation of Integrity. In the first year after the death of King *James*, he was advanced to be Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* (the usual advancement from the office of Attorney General) upon the removal of the Bishop of *Lincoln*: who, though a man of great wit, and good Scholastic learning, was generally thought so very unequal to the Place, that his Remove was the only recompence and satisfaction, that could be made for his Promotion. And yet it was enough known, that the Disgrace proceeded only from the private displeasure of the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Lord *Coventry* enjoyed this place with an universal reputation (and sure Justice

BOOK
1.
Of the Lord
Keeper Co-
ventry.

B O O K was never better administered) for the space of about sixteen years, even to his death, some months before he was sixty years of age: which was another important circumstance of his Felicity; that great Office being so slippery, that no man had died in it before, for near the space of forty years. Nor had his Successors, for some time after him, much better fortune. And he himself had use of all his strength, and skill (as he was an excellent Wrestler in this kind) to preserve himself from falling, in two Shocks: the one given him by the Earl of *Portland*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*; the other by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had the greatest power over the affections of the King of any Man of that time.

He was a Man of wonderful Gravity, and Wisdom; and understood not only the whole Science, and Mystery of the Law, at least equally with any Man who had ever sate in that place; but had a clear conception of the whole Policy of the Government both of Church and State, which, by the unskilfulness of some well meaning Men, jostled each the other too much.

He knew the temper, disposition, and genius of the Kingdom most exactly; saw their Spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all Innovations, which, he foresaw, would produce ruinous effects. Yet many, who stood at a distance, thought he was not active, and stout enough in opposing those Innovations. For though, by his place, he presided in all Public Councils, and was most sharp-sighted in the Consequence of things; yet he was seldom

known to Speak in matters of State, which, he well knew, were, for the most part, concluded, before they were brought to that Public agitation: never, in Foreign Affairs; which the vigor of his Judgment could well have comprehended: nor indeed freely in any thing, but what immediately, and plainly concerned the Justice of the Kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procured References to the Judges. Though, in his Nature, he had not only a firm Gravity, but a Severity, and even some Morosity; yet it was so happily tempered, and his Courtesy, and Affability towards all Men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvellously recommended him to all Men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent Courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners.

He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of Elocution, a strange power of making himself believed, the only justifiable design of Eloquence: so that though he used very frankly to Deny, and would never suffer any Man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclined to Gratify, when in truth he was not; holding that Dissimulation to be the worst of Lying: yet the Manner of it was so gentle, and obliging, and his Condescension such, to Inform the persons whom he could not Satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wishes.

But then, this happy Temper, and these good Faculties, rather preserved him from having many Enemies, and supplied him with some Well-wishers,

B O O K than furnished him with any fast and unshaken
I. Friends: who are always procured in Courts, by more ardor, and more vehement Professions, and Applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with. So that he was a Man rather exceedingly Liked, than passionately Loved: insomuch that it never appeared, that he had any one Friend in the Court of Quality enough to prevent, or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to. And therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to Him, that he retired within himself as much as he could; and stood upon his Defence, without making desperate Sallies against growing Mischiefs; which, he knew well, he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own Ruin. To conclude; his Security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the King; and he Died, in a season most opportune, in which a wise Man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the World.

Of the Lord
 Treasurer
 Weston,
 Earl of Port-
 land.

Sir *Richard Weston* had been advanced to the White-staff, into the Office of Lord high Treasurer of *England*. some months before the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and had, in that short time, so much disoblighd him, at least disappointed his expectation, that many, who were privy to the Duke's most secret purposes, did believe, that if he had out-lived that Voyage in which he was engaged, he would have removed him, and made another Treasurer. And it is very true, that great Office too had been very slippery, and not fast to those who had trusted them-
 selves

selves in it: Infomuch as there were at that time, B O O K
I.
five Noble persons alive, who all Succeeded one another immediately in that unsteady Charge, without any other person intervening: the Earl of *Suffolk*; the Lord Viscount *Mandevile*. afterwards Earl of *Manchester*; the Earl of *Middlesex*; and the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was removed under pretence of his Age, and disability for the work (which had been a better reason against his Promotion, so few years before, that his infirmities were very little increased) to make room for the present Officer; who, though Advanced by the Duke, may properly be said to be Established by his Death.

He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction by Father and Mother. His Education had been very good amongst Books and Men. After some years study of the Law in the Middle Temple, he travelled into Foreign parts, and at an Age fit to make Observations, and Reflections; out of which, that, which is commonly called Experience, is constituted. After this he betook himself to the Court, and lived there some years; at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the Modesty of the Age, when men were Seen some time, before they were Known; and well known before they were Preferred, or durst pretend to it.

He spent the best part of his Fortune (a fair one, that he inherited from his Father) in his attendance at Court; and involved his Friends in Securities with him, who were willing to run his hopeful Fortune, before he received the least Fruit from it, but the Countenance of great Men, and those in Autho-

B O O K rity, the most natural, and most certain Stairs to
I. ascend by.

He was then sent Ambassador to the Arch-Dukes, *Albert* and *Isabella*, into *Flanders*; and to the Diet in *Germany*, to treat about the restitution of the *Palatinate*; in which Negotiation he behaved himself with great Prudence, and with the concurrent testimony of his being a Wise man, from all those Princes and Ambassadors with whom he treated.

Upon his return he was made a Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the place of the Lord *Brooke*, who was either persuaded, or put out of the place; which, being an Office of Honor and Trust, is likewise an excellent Stage for Men of parts to tread, and expose themselves upon; where they have occasions of all kinds to lay out, and spread all their Faculties and Qualifications, most for their advantage. He behaved himself very well in this Function, and appeared Equal to it; and carried himself so luckily in Parliament, that he did his Master much Service, and preserved himself in the good opinion, and acceptance of the House; which is a blessing not indulged to many by those High Powers. He did swim in those troubled and boisterous waters, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* rode as Admiral, with a good Grace; when very many who were about him, were drowned, or forced on shore with shrewd hurts, and bruises: which showed, he knew well How and When to use his Limbs, and strength to the best advantage; sometimes only to avoid sinking; and sometimes to advance and get ground: and by this dexterity, he

kept his credit with those who could do him good, and lost it not with others, who desired the destruction of those upon whom he most depended. BOOK I.

He was made Lord Treasurer in the manner, and at the time mentioned before, upon the removal of the Earl of *Marlborough*, and few months before the death of the Duke. The former circumstance, which is often attended by Compassion towards the Degraded, and Prejudice towards the Promoted, brought him no disadvantage: For besides the delight that *Seafon* had in Changes, there was little reverence towards the Person removed; and the extreme visible Poverty of the Exchequer, sheltered that Province from the Envy it had frequently created; and opened a door for much Applause to be the portion of a Wise, and Provident Minister. For the other, of the Duke's death, though some, who knew the Duke's passions, and prejudice (which often produced rather sudden indisposition, than obstinate resolution) believed he would have been shortly Cashiered, as so many had lately been; and so that the death of his Founder was a greater Confirmation of him in the Office, than the delivery of the White-staff to him had been: yet many other wise Men, who knew the Treasurer's talent in removing prejudice, and reconciling himself to wavering and doubtful affections, believed, that the Loss of the Duke was very Unseasonable; and that the awe, or apprehension of His power, and displeasure, was a very necessary alloy for the Impetuosity of the new Officer's nature, which needed some restraint,

B O O K and check, for some time, to his immoderate Pretences, and appetite of Power.

I. He did indeed appear on the sudden wonderfully Elated, and so far threw off his old affectation to please Some very much, and to displease None, in which Art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death, he found himself to succeed him in the Public displeasure, and in the malice of his Enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable Dependants. And yet, though he was not superior to all other Men in the affection, or rather resignation of the King, so that he might dispense Favors and Disfavors according to his own election, he had a full share in his Master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise, and able Servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him; and received no other advice in the large business of his Revenue: nor was any Man so much his superior, as to be able to lessen him in the king's affection by his power. So that he was in a Post, in which he might have found much ease, and delight, if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own Province, which was large enough, and of such Extent, that he might, at the same time, have drawn a great dependance upon him of very considerable Men, and have appeared a very useful, and profitable Minister to the King; whose Revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might, by industry, and order, have been easily improved: and no Man better understood what method was necessary towards that good husbandry, than he.

But I know not by what forwardness in his Stars, he took more pains in examining, and inquiring into other Men's Offices, than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he Had, as trouble and agony for what he had Not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole Favorite, that he had no relish of the Power he had: and in that contention he had many Rivals, who had credit enough to do him ill Offices, though not enough to satisfy their own Ambition; the King himself being resolved to hold the Reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others, than was necessary for the Capacity they served in. Which Resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's Pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his Enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his Friendship; and every day discovered some Infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to Public Reproach, and to private Animosities: and even his Vices admitted those contradictions in them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the Public Jealousy, which is always attended with Public Reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his Religion. His Wife, and all his Daughters were declared of the Roman Religion: and though he Himself, and his Sons, sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have Zeal for it; and his Domestic conversation and dependants, with whom only he used entire freedom,

B O O K were all known Papists; and were believed to be
 I. Agents for the rest. And yet with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that Party; who were the only people of the Kingdom who did not believe him to be of their Profession. For the Penal Laws (those only excepted which were Sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose) were never more rigidly Executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a Revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favors, and indulgences of his Office towards them.

No Man had greater ambition to make his Family great, or stronger designs to leave a great Fortune to it. Yet his Expenses were so prodigious, especially in his House, that all the ways he used for supply, which were all that occurred, could not serve his turn; in so much that he contracted so great Debts (the anxiety whereof, he pretended, broke his mind, and restrained that attention, and industry, which was necessary for the due execution of his Office) that the King was pleased Twice to pay his Debts; at least, towards it, to disburse forty thousand pounds in ready money out of his Exchequer. Besides, his Majesty gave him a whole Forest [*Chute Forest in Hampshire*] and much other land belonging to the Crown; which was the more taken notice of, and Murmured against, because, being the chief Minister of the Revenue, he was particularly obliged, as much as in him lay, to prevent, and even oppose such Disinheritance; and because, under that obligation, he had avowedly, and sowerly crossed the pretences of other Men, and

restrained the King's Bounty from being exercised almost to any. And he had that advantage (if he had made the right use of it) that his Credit was ample enough (seconded by the King's own experience, and observation, and inclination) to Retrench very much of the late unlimited Expenses, and especially those of Bounties; which from the death of the Duke ran in narrower Channels, and never so much overflowed as towards himself, who stopped the current to other Men.

He was of an imperious nature, and nothing wary in disobliging and provoking other Men, and had too much courage in offending and incensing them: but after having offended them, he was of so unhappy a Feminine temper, that he was always in a terrible fright and apprehension of them.

He had not that application, and submission, and reverence for the Queen, as might have been expected from his Wisdom and Breeding; and often crossed her pretences and desires, with more rudeness than was natural to him. Yet he was impertinently solicitous to know what her Majesty said of him in private, and what Resentments she had towards him. And when by some Confidants, who had their ends upon him from those Offices, he was informed of some bitter expressions fallen from her Majesty, he was so exceedingly afflicted, and tormented with the sense of it, that sometimes by passionate complaints, and representations to the King; sometimes by more dutiful addresses, and expostulations with the Queen, in bewailing his misfortune; he frequently exposed himself, and left his con-

B O O K I. dition worfe than it was before; and the Eclairciffement commonly ended in the difcovery of the perfons from whom he had received his moft fecret intelligence.

He quickly loft the character of a bold, ftout, and magnanimous Man; which he had been long reputed to be in worfe times: and, in his moft profperous feafon, fell under the reproach of being a Man of big looks, and of a mean and abject Spirit.

There was a very ridiculous Story at that time in the mouths of many, which, being a known truth, may not be unfitly mentioned in this place, as a kind of illuftration of the Humor, and Nature of the Man. Sir *Julius Cæfar* was then Mafter of the Rolls, and had, inherent in his Office, the indubitable right and difpofition of the Six-Clerks places; all which he had for many years, upon any vacancy, beftowed to fuch Perfons as he thought fit. One of thofe Places was become void, and defigned by the Old Man to his fon *Robert Cæfar*, a Lawyer of a good name, and exceedingly beloved. The Lord Treafurer (as he was vigilant in fuch cafes) had notice of the Clerk's expiration fofoon, that he procured the King to fend a message to the Mafter of the Rolls, exprefsly forbidding him to difpofe of that Six-Clerks place, till his Majefty's pleafure fhould be further made known to him. It was the firft Command of that kind that had been heard of, and was felt by the Old Man very Senfibly. He was indeed very old, and had out-lived moft of his Friends; fo that his Age was an objection againft him; many Perfons of Quality

being dead, who had, for recompence of Services, procured the Reversion of his Office. The Treasurer found it no hard matter so far to terrify him, that (for the King's service, as was pretended) he admitted for a Six Clerk a person recommended by him (Mr. *Fern* a dependant upon him) who paid six thousand pound ready money; which, Poor Man! he lived to repent in a Jail. This work being done at the charge of the poor Old Man, who had been a Privy-Counsellor from the entrance of King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and served in other Offices; the depriving him of his Right made a great noise: and the condition of his Son (his Father being not likely to live to have the disposal of another Office in his power) who, as was said before, was generally beloved, and esteemed, was argument of great compassion; and was lively, and successfully represented to the King himself; who was graciously pleased to promise, that, "If the Old Man chanced to die before any other of the Six-Clerks, that Office, when it should fall, should be conferred on his Son, whosoever should succeed him as Master of the Rolls:" which might well be provided for, and the Lord Treasurer obliged himself (to expiate the injury) to procure some Declaration to that purpose, under his Majesty's Sign Manual; which, however easy to be done, he long forgot, or neglected.

One day the Earl of *Tullibardine*, who was nearly allied to Mr. *Cesar*, and much his Friend, being with the Treasurer, passionately asked him, "Whether he had done that business?" To whom he

BOOK answered with a seeming trouble, "That he had
1. "forgotten it, for which he was heartily sorry;
"and if he would give him a little Note in writing,
"for a Memorial, he would put it amongst those
"which he would despatch with the King that
"afternoon." The Earl presently writ in a little
paper, *Remember Cæsar*; and gave it to him; and
he put it into that little Pocket, where, he said,
he kept all his Memorials which were first to be
transacted.

Many days passed, and *Cæsar* never thought of.
At length, when he changed his Clothes, and he
who waited on him in his Chamber, according to
custom, brought him all the Notes and Papers
which were left in those he had left off, which
he then commonly perused; when he found this
little Billet, in which was only written *Remember
Cæsar*, and which he had never read before, he
was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what
to make, or think of it. He sent for his bosom-
Friends, with whom he most confidently consulted,
and showed the Paper to them, the contents where-
of he could not conceive: but that it might prob-
ably have been put into his hand (because it was
found in that enclosure, wherein he put all things
of moment which were given him) when he was
in motion, and in the Privy Lodgings in the Court.
After a serious and melancholic deliberation, it
was agreed, that it was the advertisement from
some Friend, who durst not Own the discovery:
that it could signify nothing but that there was a
Conspiracy against his life, by his many and mighty

Enemies: and They all knew *Cæsar's* fate, by contemning, or neglecting Such animadversions. And therefore they concluded, that he should pretend to be Indisposed, that he might not stir abroad all that day; nor that any might be admitted to him, but Persons of undoubted Affections: that at night, the Gates should be shut early, and the Porter enjoined to open them to nobody, nor to go himself to bed till the morning, and that some Servants should watch with him, lest Violence might be used at the Gate; and that They themselves, and some other Gentlemen, would sit up all the night, and attend the Event. Such Houses are always in the morning haunted by early Suitors; but it was very late before any could now get admittance into the House; the Porter having quitted some of that arrear of sleep, which he owed to himself for his night's watching; which he excused to his Acquaintance by whispering to them, "That his Lord should have been Killed that night, which had kept all the House from going to bed." And shortly after, the Earl of *Tullibardine* asking him, Whether he had remembered *Cæsar*? the Treasurer quickly recollected the Ground of his perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it to his Friends, who likewise affected the communication, and so the whole Jest came to be discovered.

To conclude, all the Honors the King conferred upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an Earl, and Knight of the Garter; and above this, gave a young beautiful Lady nearly allied to his Majesty, and to the Crown of *Scotland*, in Marriage to his

- B O O K** eldest Son) could not make him think himself Great enough. Nor could all the King's Bounties, nor his own large Accessions, raise a Fortune to his Heir; but after six or eight years spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed; without any sense or delight in so great Prosperity, with the agony that it was no greater; He Died unlamented by Any; bitterly mentioned by Most who never pretended to love him; and severely censured, and complained of by Those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous Family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the Fortune he left behind him.

Of the Earl of
Manchester,
Lord Privy-
Seal.

The next great Counsellor of State was the Lord Privy-Seal, who was likewise of a Noble extraction, and of a Family at that time very fortunate. His Grandfather had been Lord Chief Justice, and left by King *Harry* the Eighth one of the Executors of his last Will. He was the younger Son of his Father, and brought up in the study of the Law, in the Middle Temple; and had passed, and, as it were, made a progress through all the eminent Degrees of the Law, and in the State. At the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, or thereabouts, he was Recorder of *London*; then the King's Serjeant at Law; afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Before the death of King *James*, by the Favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he was raised to the Place of Lord High Treasurer of *England*; and within less than a

year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that Favor, he was reduced to the almost empty Title of President of the Council; and, to allay the sense of the dishonor, created Viscount *Mandevile*. He bore the Diminution very well, as he was a wise man, and of an excellent temper; and quickly recovered so much grace, that he was made Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord Privy-Seal, and enjoyed that Office to his death; whilst he saw many Removes, and Degradations, in all the other Offices of which he had been possessed.

He was a man of great Industry, and Sagacity in Business, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preserved so great a vigor of Mind, even to his death (when he was very near eighty years of age) that some, who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker Parts in his age, than before. His Honors had grown faster upon him than his Fortunes; which made him too solicitous to advance the latter, by all the ways which offered themselves; whereby he exposed himself to some inconvenience, and many reproaches, and became less capable of serving the Public by his Counsels, and Authority; which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed gravity, and ability, would have enabled him to have done; most men considering more the Person that speaks, than the Things he says. And he was unhappily too much used as a Check upon the Lord *Coventry*; and when that Lord perplexed their counsels, and designs, with inconvenient objections in Law, the Authority of the Lord *Manchester*, who had trod the same paths,

B O O K
I.

B O O K was still called upon; and he did too frequently gratify their unjustifiable designs, and pretences: a guilt and mischief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be so, are liable to, and can hardly preserve themselves from. But his Virtues so far weighed down his Infirmities, that he maintained a good general reputation, and credit with the whole Nation, and People; he being always looked upon, as full of Integrity, and Zeal to the Protestant Religion, as it was established by Law, and of unquestionable Loyalty, Duty, and Fidelity to the King; which two Qualifications will ever gather popular Breath enough to fill the Sails, if the Vessel be competently provided with Ballast. He Died in a lucky time, in the beginning of the Rebellion, when neither Religion, Loyalty, Law, nor Wisdom, could have provided for any man's Security.

**Of the Earl of
Arundel.**

The Earl of *Arundel* was the next Officer of State, who, in his own Right, and Quality, preceded the rest of the Council. He was generally thought to be a proud man, who lived always within himself, and to himself, conversing little with any who were in common conversation; so that he seemed to live as it were in another Nation, his House being a place to which all people resorted who resorted to no other place; Strangers, or such who affected to look like Strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He resorted sometimes to the Court, because There only was a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer, because there Was a greater man than himself. He lived towards all Favorites,

and great Officers, without any kind of condescension, and rather suffered himself to be ill treated by their power and authority (for he was often in Disgrace, and once or twice Prisoner in the Tower) than to descend in making any application to them.

And upon these Occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several Journeys into foreign Parts, and, with his Wife and Family, had lived some years in *Italy*, the humor, and manners of which Nation he seemed most to like, and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by Descend, and a much greater from his Wife, who was the sole Daughter upon the matter (for neither of the two Sisters left any Issue) of the great House of *Shrewsbury*; but his Expenses were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his Revenue. He was willing to be thought a Scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of Antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly Purchase of excellent Statues, whilst he was in *Italy*, and in *Rome* (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from *Rome*, though he had paid for them) and had a rare Collection of the most curious Medals. As to all parts of Learning he was almost illiterate, and thought no other part of History so considerable, as what related to his own Family; in which, no doubt, there had been some very memorable Persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait, and motion. He wore and affected a Habit very different from that of the time, such as men

BOOK had only beheld in the Pictures of the most considerable Men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many towards him, as the Image, and Representative of the Primitive Nobility, and Native Gravity of the Nobles, when they had been most Venerable: but this was only his outside; his nature and true humor being much disposed to levity, and delights, which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was rather thought not to be much concerned for Religion, than to incline to this, or that Party of any: and had little other affection for the Nation or the Kingdom, than as he had a great share in it, in which like the great Leviathan he might sport himself; from which he withdrew, as soon as he discerned the repose thereof was like to be disturbed, and died in *Italy*, under the same doubtful character of Religion in which he lived.

Of William
Earl of Pembroke.

William Earl of Pembroke was next, a man of another mould, and making, and of another fame, and reputation with all men, being the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age; and, having a great Office in the Court, he made the Court itself better esteemed, and more revered in the Country. And as he had a great number of Friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself to be his Enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful Speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of Learning, and a ready Wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it: of a pleasant and facetious humor, and a disposition affable, generous, and

and magnificent. He was master of a great Fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his Wife, another Daughter, and Heir of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him: but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly.

He lived many years About the Court, before In it; and never By it: being rather regarded and esteemed by King *James*, than loved and favored. After the foul Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, more for the Court's ſake, than his Own; and the Court appeared with the more Luſtre, becauſe He had the Government of that Province. As he ſpent and lived upon his own Fortune, ſo he ſtood upon his own Feet, without any other ſupport than of his proper Virtue and Merit: and lived towards the Favorites with that decency, as would not ſuffer them to cenſure or reproach his Maſter's judgment, and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the Court, becauſe he never deſired to get that for Himſelf which Others labored for, but was ſtill ready to promote the pretences of worthy men. And he was equally celebrated in the Country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt, or ſway his affections, and judgment: ſo that all who were diſpleaſed, and unſatisfied In the Court, or With the Court, were always inclined to put themſelves under his Banner, if he would have admitted them: and yet he did not ſo reject them, as to make them chuſe another Shel-

B O O K ter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that
1. he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments, and murmurs.

He was a great lover of his Country, and of the Religion, and Justice, which he believed could only support it; and his Friendships were only with men of those Principles. And as his Conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts, and understanding, so towards any such, who needed support, or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was planted in a Court, that was fitter for that Soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that Air.

Yet his memory must not be Flattered, that his virtues, and good inclinations may be Believed; he was not without some alloy of Vice, and without being clouded with great Infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the Pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To Women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight, (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his Wife's Fortune, by taking her Person into the bargain) he was immoderately given up. But therein he likewise retained such a power, and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind, as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed Himself, his

precious time, and much of his fortune. And some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension, that his natural vivacity, and vigor of mind begun to lessen, and decline by those excessive Indulgences. BOOK
I.

About the time of the death of King *James*, or presently after, he was made Lord Steward of his Majesty's House; that the Staff of Chamberlain might be put into the hands of his Brother, the Earl of *Montgomery*, upon a new contract of Friendship with the Duke of *Buckingham*; after whose death, he had likewise such Offices of his, as he most affected; of honor and command; none of profit, which he cared not for: and within two years after, he died himself of an Apoplexy, after a full and cheerful Supper.

A short Story may not be unfitly inserted, it being very frequently mentioned by a Person of known integrity, whose Character is here undertaken to be set down, and who, at that time, being on his way to *London*, met at *Maidenhead* some Persons of Quality, of relation or dependance upon the Earl of *Pembroke* (Sir *Charles Morgan*, commonly called General *Morgan*, who had commanded an Army in *Germany*, and defended *Stoad*; Dr. *Field*, then Bishop of *St. Davids*; and Dr. *Chafin*, the Earl's then Chaplain in his house, and much in his favor.) At Supper one of them drank a health to the Lord Steward: upon which another of them said, "that he believed his Lord was at that time very Merry, for he had now outlived the day, which his Tutor *Sandford* had prognosticated upon his Nativity he would not outlive; but he had done it now, for

B O O K " that was his Birth-day, which had completed
 I. " his age to fifty years." The next morning, by
 the time they came to *Colebrook*, they met with the
 news of his Death.

He Died exceedingly lamented by men of all quali-
 ties, and left many of his Servants and Dependants
 owners of good Estates, raised out of his employ-
 ments, and bounty. Nor had his Heir cause to
 complain. For though his Expenses had been very
 magnificent (and it may be the less considered, and
 his providence the less, because he had no Child to
 inherit) in so much as he left a great Debt charged
 upon the Estate; yet considering the wealth he left
 in Jewels, Plate, and Furniture, and the Estate his
 Brother enjoyed in the right of his Wife (who was
 not fit to manage it herself) during her long life, he
 may be justly said to have inherited as good an Estate
 from him, as He had from his Father, which was
 one of the best in *England*.

Of Philip Earl
 of Montgo-
 mery.

The Earl of *Montgomery*, who was then Lord
 Chamberlain of the Household, and now Earl of
Pembroke, and the Earl of *Dorset* were likewise of
 the Privy-Council; Men of very different Talents,
 and Qualifications. The former being a young man,
 scarce of age at the entrance of King *James*, had the
 good fortune by the comeliness of his person, his
 skill, and indefatigable industry in Hunting, to be
 the first who drew the King's eyes towards him with
 affection; which was quickly so far improved, that
 he had the reputation of a Favorite. Before the
 end of the first, or second year, he was made Gen-
 tleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and Earl of *Mont-*

gomery; which did the King no harm: For besides that he received the King's Bounty with more moderation than other men, who succeeded him; He was generally known, and as generally esteemed; being the Son of one Earl of *Pembroke*, and younger Brother to another, who liberally supplied his expense, beyond what his Annuity from his Father would bear.

B O O K
I.

He pretended to no other Qualifications, than to understand Horses and Dogs very well, which his Master loved him the better for (being, at his first coming into *England*, very jealous of those who had the reputation of great Parts) and to be believed honest and generous, which made him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. He had not sat many years in that Sun shine, when a new Comet appeared in Court, *Robert Carr*, a Scots man, quickly after declared Favorite; upon whom the King no sooner fixed his eyes, but the Earl, without the least murmur, or indisposition, left all doors open for his entrance (A rare Temper! and it could proceed from nothing, but his great perfection in loving Field-sports) which the King received as so great an Obligation, that he always after loved him in the Second place, and commended him to his Son at his death, as a Man to be relied on in point of Honesty and Fidelity; though it appeared afterwards, that he was not strongly Built, nor had sufficient Ballast to endure a Storm, of which more will be said hereafter.

The other, the Earl of *Dorset*, was, to all intents, Of Edward principles, and purposes another Man; his Person Earl of Dorset.

B O O K
I. beautiful, and graceful, and vigorous; his Wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other Parts of Learning, and Language, of that lustre, that he could not miscarry in the World. The Vices he had, were of the Age, which he was not stubborn enough to contemn, or resist. He was a younger Brother, Grandchild to the great Treasurer *Buckhurst*, created, at the King's first Entrance, Earl of *Dorset*, who outlived his Father, and took care, and delight in the Education of his Grand-child, and left him a good Support for a younger Brother; besides a Wife, who was Heir to a fair Fortune. As his Person and Parts were such as are before mentioned, so he gave them full scope, without restraint; and indulged to his appetite all the Pleasures, that season of his life (the fullest of jollity, and riot of any that preceded, or succeeded) could tempt, or suggest to him.

He entered into a fatal Quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young Nobleman of *Scotland*, the Lord *Bruce*; upon which they both transported themselves into *Flanders*, and attended only by two Surgeons placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir, but upon the fall of one of them, they Fought under the Walls of *Antwerp*, where the Lord *Bruce* fell dead upon the place; and Sir *Edward Sackville* (for so he was then called) being likewise hurt, retired into the next Monastery, which was at hand. Nor did this miserable accident, which he always exceedingly lamented, make that thorough impression upon him, but that he indulged still too much to those importunate, and insatiate appetites, even of that individual Person, that had

so lately embarked him in that desperate enterprize; being too much Tinder not to be inflamed with those Sparks. * B O O K
I.

His Elder brother did not enjoy his Grandfather's Titles many years, before they descended, for want of Heirs male, to the Younger brother. But in these few years the Elder by an excess of expense in all the ways to which money can be applied, so entirely consumed almost the whole great Fortune that descended to him, that, when he was forced to leave the Title to his younger Brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to support it; which exposed him to many difficulties, and inconveniencies. Yet his known great Parts, and the very good general Reputation he had acquired, notwithstanding his defects (for as he was eminent in the House of Commons, whilst he sat there; so he shined in the House of Peers, when he came to move in that sphere) inclined King *James* to call him to his Privy-Council before his death. And if he had not too much cherished his natural constitution, and propensity; and been too much grieved, and wrung by an uneasy and streight Fortune; he would have been an excellent man of business; for he had a very sharp, discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature; much honor, and great generosity, and of most entire fidelity to the Crown.

There were two other Persons of much Authority in the Council, because of great Name in the Court; as they deserved to be, being without doubt two as accomplished Courtiers, as were found in the Palaces of all the Princes in *Europe*; and the greatest (if not

B O O K too great) improvers of that Breeding, and those
I. Qualifications, with which Courts used to be adorned; the Earl of *Carlisle*, and the Earl of *Holland*: both (though men of pleasure) by their long experience in Court well acquainted with the affairs of the Kingdom, and better versed in those abroad, than any other who sat then at that Board.

Of the Earl
 of Carlisle.

The former, a Younger brother of a noble Family in *Scotland*, came into the Kingdom with King *James*, as a Gentleman; under no other character, than a Person well qualified by his breeding in *France*, and by study in humane Learning; in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the King, who much delighted in that exercise: and by these means, and notable gracefulness in his behaviour, and affability; in which he excelled, he had wrought himself into a particular interest with his Master, and into greater affection and esteem with the whole *English* Nation, than any other of that Country; by chusing Their friendships, and conversation, and really preferring it to any of his Own: Insomuch as upon the King's making him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and Viscount *Doncaster*, by his Royal mediation (in which office he was a most prevalent Prince) he obtained the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny* to be given him in marriage; by which he had a fair Fortune in Land provided for any Issue he should raise, and which his Son by that Lady lived long to enjoy.

He ascended afterwards, and with the expedition he desired, to the other Conveniencies of the Court. He was Groom of the Stole, and an Earl, and Knight

of the Garter; and married a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, without any other approbation of her Father, or concernment in it, than suffering Him and Her to come into his presence after they were married. He lived rather in a fair Intelligence than any Friendship with the Favorites; having credit enough with his Master to provide for his own interest, and he troubled not himself for that of other men; and had no other consideration of money, than for the support of his lustre; and whilst he could do that, he cared not for money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could.

He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person, of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of Clothes and Diet, than any other man; and was indeed the Original of all those inventions, from which others did but transcribe Copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant, and worth his care. But he found Business was attended with more Rivals, and vexations; and, he thought, with much less pleasure, and not more innocence.

He left behind him the reputation of a very fine Gentleman, and a most accomplished Courtier; and after having spent, in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict computation, he received from the Crown, he left not a House, nor Acre of Land to be remembered by. And when he had in his prospect (for he was

B O O K very sharp-sighted, and saw as far before him as
I. most Men) the gathering together of that Cloud in
Scotland, which shortly after covered both King-
 doms, he Died with as much Tranquillity of Mind
 to all appearance, as used to attend a Man of more
 severe exercise of Virtue; and with as little apprehen-
 sion of death, which he expected many days.

Of the Earl
 of Holland.

The Earl of *Holland* was a younger Son of a Noble
 House, and of a very fruitful Bed, which divided
 a numerous Issue between two great Fathers: the
 Eldest, many Sons and Daughters to the Lord *Rich*;
 the Younger, of both Sexes, to *Mountjoy* Earl of
Devonshire. The reputation of his Family gave him
 no great advantage in the World, though his eldest
 Brother was Earl of *Warwick*, and owner of a great
 Fortune; and his Younger Earl of *Newport*, of a
 very plentiful Revenue likewise. He, after some
 time spent in *France*, betook himself to the War in
Holland, which he intended to have made his Pro-
 fession; where, after he had made two or three
 Campaigns, according to the custom of the *English*
 Volunteers, he came in the leisure of the Winter to
 visit his Friends in *England*, and the Court, that
 shined then in the plenty and bounty of King *James*;
 and about the time of the infancy of the Duke of
Buckingham's favors, to whom he grew in a short
 time very acceptable. But his Friendship was more
 entire to the Earl of *Carlisle*, who was more of his
 nature, and humor, and had a generosity more ap-
 plicable at that time to his fortune and his ends. And
 it was thought by many who stood within view,
 that for some years he supported himself upon the

Familiarity, and Friendship of the other; which continued mutually between them very many years, with little interruption to their death. BOOK I.

He was a very handsome Man, of a lovely, and winning presence, and genteel conversation; by which he got so easy an admission into the Court, and grace of King *James*, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a Soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the Duke, and to his confidence, and wisely declined the receiving any grace or favor, but as His donation; above all, avoided the suspicion that the King had any kindness for him, upon any account but of the Duke, whose Creature he desired to be esteemed, though the Earl of *Carlisle's* Friend. And he prospered so well in that Pretence, that the King scarce made more haste to advance the Duke, than the Duke did to promote the other.

He first preferred him to a Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom he had a good Fortune; and amongst other things, the Manor and Seat of *Kensington*, of which he was shortly after made Baron. And he had quickly so entire a confidence in him, that the Duke prevailed with the King to put him about his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and to be a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, before the Duke himself had reason to promise himself any proportion of his Highness's grace, and protection. He was then made Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and of the Privy-Council; sent the first Ambassador into *France*, to treat the marriage with the Queen, or rather privately to treat about the marriage

B O O K before he was Ambassador. And when the Duke went
I. to the Isle of *Re*, he trusted the Earl of *Holland* with the command of that Army with which He was to be recruited, and assisted.

In this Confidence, and in this Posture he was left by the Duke when he was killed; and having the advantage of the Queen's good opinion, and favor (which the Duke neither had, nor cared for) he made all possible approaches towards the obtaining His trust, and succeeding him in His power; or rather that the Queen might have solely that Power, and he only be Subservient to her; and upon this account, he made a continual War upon the Earl of *Portland*, the Treasurer, and all others who were not gracious to the Queen, or desired not the increase of her Authority. And in this State, and under this Protection, he received every day new Obligations from the King, and great Bounties, and continued to Flourish above any man in the Court, whilst the Weather was fair: but the Storm did no sooner arise, but he changed so much, and declined so fast from the Honor he was thought to be master of, that he fell into that Condition, which there will be hereafter too much cause to mention, and to enlarge upon.

Of the two
 Secretaries of
 State, Sir
 John Coke,
 and Sir Dud-
 ley Carleton.

The two Secretaries of State (who were not in those days Officers of that magnitude they have been since, being only to make Despatches upon the conclusion of Councils, not to govern, or preside in those Councils) were Sir *John Coke*, who, upon the death of Sir *Albert Moreton*, was, from being Master of Requests, preferred to be Secretary of State; and

Sir *Dudley Carleton*, who from his Employment in *Holland*, was put into the place of the Lord *Conway*, who, for age and incapacity, was at last removed from the Secretary's office, which he had exercised many years with very notable Insufficiency; so that King *James* was wont pleasantly to say, "that *Stenny* " (the Duke of *Buckingham*) had given him two " very proper Servants; a Secretary, who could " neither write, nor read; and a Groom of his Bed- " chamber, who could not trust his points: Mr. *Clark* " having but one hand."

Of these two Secretaries the Former was a man of a very narrow education, and a narrower nature; having continued long in the University of *Cambridge*, where he had gotten Latin learning enough; and afterwards in the Country in the condition of a private Gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon some reputation he had for Industry and Diligence, he was called to some painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he discharged well; and afterwards to be Master of Requests, and then to be Secretary of State, which he enjoyed to a great age: and was a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigor and quickness, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakness or defect of understanding, or transported with any vicious inclinations, appetite to Money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was Industry, and his most eminent infirmity Covetousness. His long Experience had informed him well of the State and affairs of *England*: but of Foreign transactions, or the common interest of Chris-

B O O K tian Princes, he was entirely undiscerning, and
 I. ignorant.

Sir *Dudley Carleton* was of a quite contrary nature, constitution, and education, and understood all that related to Foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes, and Nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Customs of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. He was a Younger son in a good Gentleman's Family, and bred in *Christ-Church*, in the University of *Oxford*, where he was a Student of the Foundation, and a young man of Parts, and towardly expectation. He went from thence early into *France*, and was soon after Secretary to Sir *Harry Nevil*, the Ambassador there. He had been sent Ambassador to *Venice*, where he resided many years with good reputation; and was no sooner returned from thence into *England*, than he went Ambassador into *Holland* to the States General, and resided there when that Synod was assembled at *Dort*, which hath given the World so much occasion since for uncharitable Disputations, which They were called together to prevent. Here the Ambassador was not thought so equal a Spectator, or Assessor, as he ought to have been; but by the infusions he made into King *James*, and by his own activity, he did all he could to discountenance that Party that was most Learned, and to raise the credit and authority of the Other; which hath since proved as inconvenient, and troublesome to their own Country as to their Neighbours.

He was once more Ambassador extraordinary in *Holland* after the death of King *James*, and was the

last who was admitted to be Present, and to Vote B O O K
I.
in the General Assembly of the States, under that Character; of which great Privilege the Crown had been possessed from a great part of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and through the time of King *James*, to that moment; which administered fresh matter of Murmur for the giving up the Towns of the *Brill*, and *Flushing*, which had been done some years before by King *James*; without which men thought those States would not have had the courage so soon to have degraded the Crown of *England* from a Place in their Councils, which had prospered so eminently under the Shadow of that Power and Support. As soon as he returned from *Holland*, he was called to the Privy-Council. The making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm, when his Estate was scarce visible, was the last piece of Workmanship the Duke of *Buckingham* lived to finish, who seldom satisfied himself with conferring a single obligation.

The Duke had observed, and discovered, that the channel in which the Church-Promotions had formerly run, had been liable to some corruptions, at least to many reproaches; and therefore had committed the sole representation of those affairs, and the recommending to the Vacancies which should happen, to Dr. *Laud*, then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and sworn of the Privy-Council. And the King, after the Duke's death, continued that trust in the same Hands, infinitely to the Benefit and Honor of the Church, though, it may be, no less to the Prejudice of the poor Bishop; who, too

The Rise of
Arch-Bishop
Laud's Power
in the Church.

B O O K secure in a good Conscience, and most sincere
 I. worthy Intention (with which no man was ever more plentifully replenished) thought he could manage, and discharge the place and office of the Greatest Minister in the Court (for he was quickly made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) without the least condescension to the Arts and Stratagems of the Court, and without any other Friendship, or Support, than what the splendor of a Pious life, and his unpolished Integrity would reconcile to him: Which was an unskilful measure in a Licitious age, and may deceive a good man in the best of times that shall succeed; which exposed him to such a torrent of Adversity and Misery, as we shall have too natural an occasion to Lament in the following Discourse, in which it will be more reasonable to enlarge upon his singular Abilities, and immense Virtue.

There were more (too many more) Honorable Persons in that time of the Privy-Council, whose Faculties were not notorious enough to give them any great part in the Affairs, nor had their Advice much influence upon them. Other very notable Men were shortly after added to the Council, who will hereafter be remembered in their proper Places and Seasons. What hath been said before contains Information enough of the Persons in Employment, and the State of the Court and Kingdom, when the Duke of *Buckingham* was taken from it; by which, and the lively Reflections upon the Qualities, and Qualifications of the several Persons in Authority in Court, and Council, no man could expect that
 the

the vigorous designs and enterprises, undertaken by the Duke, would be pursued with equal resolution and courage: but that much the greater part of them would be wholly intent upon their own accommodations in their Fortunes (in which they abounded not) or in their Ease, and Pleasure, which they most passionately affected; having, as hath been said, no other consideration of the Public, than that no disturbance therein might interrupt their quiet in their own days: And that the rest, who had larger hearts, and more public spirits, would extend their labor, activity, and advice, only to Secure the empire at Home by all Peaceable arts, and advancement of Trade, which might gratify the People, and fill the empty Coffers of the impoverished Crown. To which end the most proper expedients were best understood by them, not to enlarge it, by continuing and propagating the War; the ways, and means whereof they knew not how to comprehend; and had all the desperate imaginations, and jealousies of the end and necessary consequences of it. And so they All concurred (though in nothing else) in their unanimous Advice to the King "to put the quickest Period, he could possibly, to the expensive War against the two Crowns:" and, his Majesty following their Advice, a Peace was made with both, upon Better terms, and conditions, and in Less time, than from the known Impatience of the War could reasonably have been expected, or hoped for. And after some unquietness of the People, and unhappy assaults upon the Prerogative by the Parliament, which

B O O K
I.

A Peace
with the two
Crowns.

BOOK

I.

The third
Parliament
Dissolved.

The Ill Effects of the
Proclamation set forth
upon breaking up of the
second Parliament.

produced its Dissolution, and thereupon some froward and obstinate disturbances in Trade, there quickly followed so excellent a Composure throughout the whole Kingdom, that the like Peace. and Plenty, and universal Tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any Nation; and was the more visible and manifest in *England*, by the sharp and bloody War suddenly entered into between the two neighbour Crowns, and the universal Conflagration that, from the Invasion of the *Swedes*, covered the whole Empire of *Germany*. And so we shall return to the Discourse, to which this very long Digression hath given a greater interruption than was intended.

That Proclamation, mentioned before, at the breaking up of the last Parliament, and which was commonly understood "to inhibit all men to Speak of another Parliament," produced two very ill Effects of different natures. It afflicted many Good men (who otherwise were enough scandalized at those Distempers, which had Incensed the King) to that degree, that it made them capable of receiving some Impressions from Those who were diligent in whispering and infusing an opinion into men, "that there was really an Intention to Alter the form of Government both in Church, and State; of which, said they, a greater Instance cannot be given, than this public declaring (as it was interpreted) that we shall have no more Parliaments". Then, this freedom from the danger of such an Inquisition did not only encourage ill men to all boldness and licence, but wrought so far upon Men less inclined to ill (though not built for Examples) that they

kept not those strict guards upon themselves they used to do; especially if they found themselves above the reach of ordinary Justice, and feared not extraordinary, they by degrees thought that no fault which was like to find no Punishment. Supplemental Acts of State were made to supply defects of Laws; and so Tonnage, and Poundage, and other duties upon Merchandizes, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been positively refused to be settled by Act of Parliament, and new, and greater Impositions laid upon Trade: Obsolete Laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the Subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was His, to put the King as strictly to inquire what was his Own.

B O O K
I.

Projects of
all kinds.

By this ill Husbandry the King received a vast sum of Money from all Persons of Quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the Kingdom, upon the Law of Knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in Right, yet, in the circumstances of Proceeding, was very grievous. And no less unjust Projects of all kinds, Many ridiculous, Many scandalous, All very grievous, were set on foot; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit to other Men: insomuch that, of two hundred thousand pound drawn from the Subject, by these ways, in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the King's use, or account. To recompense the damage the Crown sustained by the Sale of the old Lands, and by the Grant of new Pensions, the old Laws of the Forest were revived, by which not

That of
Knighthood.

That of re-
viving Fo-
rest Laws.

B O O K only great Fines were imposed, but great Annual Rents intended, and like to be settled by way of Contract; which Burden lighted most upon Persons of Quality and Honor, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness. Lastly, for a Spring and Magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting Supply of all occasions, a Writ was framed in a Form of Law, and directed to the Sheriff of every County of *England*, "To provide a Ship of War for the King's service, and to send it, amply provided and fitted, by such a day, to such a place;" and with that Writ were sent to each Sheriff Instructions, that, "instead of a Ship, he should levy upon his County such a Sum of Money, and return the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty's use, with direction, in what manner he should proceed against such as refused:" and from hence that Tax had the denomination of *Ship-money*; a word of a lasting sound in the memory of this Kingdom; by which for some years really accrued the yearly Sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the King's Coffers: and it was in truth the only Project that was accounted to his Own service. And, after the continued receipt of it for about four years together, it was at last (upon the refusal of a Private Gentleman to pay twenty or thirty Shillings as his share) with great solemnity publicly Argued before all the Judges of *England* in the Exchequer-Chamber, and by much the major part of them, the King's right to Impose asserted, and the Tax adjudged

That of
Ship-money.

Lawful; which judgment proved of more advantage, and credit to the Gentleman condemned (Mr. Hambden) than to the King's service.

For the better Support of these extraordinary ways, and to Protect the agents, and instruments, who must be employed in them, and to Discourage, and Suppress all bold inquiries, and opposers, the Council-Table, and Star-Chamber enlarged their Jurisdictions to a vast extent, "holding" (as *Thucydides* said of the *Athenians*) "for Honorable, that which Pleased, and for Just, that which Profited;" and being the Same persons in Several rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury; the Council-Table by Proclamation enjoining to the People what was not enjoined by the Law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-Chamber censuring the breach, and disobedience to those Proclamations by very great Fines, and, Imprisonment; so that any disrespect to any Acts of State, or to the Persons of States-men, was in no time more penal, and those Foundations of Right, by which Men valued their Security, to the apprehension and understanding of Wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed.

And here I cannot but again take the liberty to say, that the Circumstances, and Proceedings in those new extraordinary cases, stratagems, and impositions, were very Unpolitic, and even Destructive to the Services intended. And if the business of Ship-money, being an Imposition by the State, under the notion of necessity, upon a prospect of danger,

B O O K
1.

The powers
of the Council-
Table and
Star-Chamber
enlarged.

B O O K which private Persons could not modestly think themselves qualified to discern, had been managed in the same extraordinary way as the Royal Loan (which was the imposing the Five Subsidies after the second Parliament spoken of before) was ; Men would much easier have submitted to it ; as it is notoriously known, that Pressure was born with much more cheerfulness before the Judgment for the King than ever it was after ; Men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the King's service, as a testimony of their Affection, which they were not bound to do ; many really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the Burden reasonable ; others observing, that the advantage to the King was of importance, when the damage to them was not considerable ; and all assuring themselves, that when they should be weary, or unwilling to continue the Payment, they might resort to the Law for relief, and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a Court of Law, as a Right, and found it, by sworn Judges of the Law, adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every Stander-by was able to swear was not Law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being Kind, and Dutiful to the King ; and, instead of Giving, were required to Pay, and by a Logic that left no Man any thing which he might call his Own, they no more looked upon it as the Case of One man, but the Case of the Kingdom, nor as an Imposition laid upon them by the King, but by the Judges ; which they thought themselves bound in Conscience to the Public Justice not to Submit to. It was an observation long ago by

Thucydides, "That Men are much more passionate BOOK
 " for Injustice, than for Violence; because, says he, I.
 " the one coming as from an equal, seems Rapine;
 " when the other proceeding from one stronger, is
 " but the effect of necessity." So, when Ship-money
 was transacted at the Council-Board, they looked
 upon it as a work of that Power they were all obliged
 to trust, and an effect of that Foresight they were
 naturally to rely upon. Imminent Necessity, and
 public Safety, were convincing persuasions; and
 it might not seem of apparent ill consequence to
 them, that upon an emergent occasion the Regal
 Power should fill up an *hiatus*, or supply an Impo-
 tency in the Law. But when they saw in a Court of
 Law (that Law, that gave them Title to, and Pos-
 session of all that they had) Reason of State urged as
 Elements of Law, Judges as Sharp-sighted as Secre-
 taries of State, and in the mysteries of State; Judge-
 ment of Law grounded upon matter of Fact, of which
 there was neither inquiry, nor proof; and no Reason
 given for the payment of the thirty Shillings in ques-
 tion, but what included the Estates of all the Standers-
 by, they had no reason to hope that Doctrine, or
 the Promoters of it, would be contained within any
 bounds; and it is no wonder that They who had so
 little reason to be pleased with their own condition,
 were no less solicitous for, or apprehensive of, the
 inconveniencies that might attend any alteration.

And here the damage and mischief cannot be ex-
 pressed, that the Crown and State sustained by the
 deserved reproach and infamy that attended the
 Judges, being made use of in this, and like Acts of

BOOK I. power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the Laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the Judges. And no question, as the exorbitancy of the House of Commons, in the next Parliament, proceeded principally from their contempt of the Laws, and that contempt from the scandal of that Judgment: so the concurrence of the House of Peers in that fury, can be imputed to no one thing more, than to the irreverence and scorn the Judges were justly in; who had been always before looked upon There as the Oracles of the Law, and the best Guides to assist that House in their opinions and actions: And the Lords now thought themselves excused for swerving from the rules and customs of their Predecessors (who in altering, and making of Laws, in judging of Things and Persons, had always observed the advice and judgment of those Sages) in not asking questions of Those whom they knew no body would believe; thinking it a just reproach upon them (who out of their Courtship had submitted the difficulties, and mysteries of the Law, to be measured by the standard of what they called General Reason, and explained by the Wisdom of State) that They themselves should make use of the Licence which the Others had taught them, and determine that to be Law, which they thought to be reasonable, or found to be convenient. If These men had preserved the simplicity of their Ancestors, in severely and strictly defending the Laws, Other men had observed the modesty of Theirs, in humbly and dutifully obeying them.

Upon this Consideration it is very observable, that in the wisdom of former times, when the Prerogative went highest (as very often it hath been swoln above any pitch we have seen it at in our times) never any Court of Law, very seldom any Judge, or Lawyer of reputation, was called upon to assist in an Act of Power; the Crown well knowing the moment of keeping Those the objects of reverence, and veneration with the People: and that though it might somerimes make sallies upon them by the Prerogative, yet the Law would keep the People from any Invasion of it, and that the King could never suffer, whilst the Law, and the Judges were looked upon by the Subject, as the *Afylum* for their Liberties, and Security. And therefore you shall find the Policy of many Princes hath endured as sharp animadversions; and reprehensions from the Judges of the Law, as their Piety hath from the Bishops of the Church; as having no less influence upon the People, under the reputation of Justice, by the one, than under the ties of Conscience and Religion, by the other.

To extend this consideration of the form, and circumstance of proceeding in Cases of an unusual nature a little farther; As it may be most behoveful for Princes in matters of Grace, and Honor, and in conferring of Favors upon their People, to transact the same as Publicly as may be, and by Themselves, or their Ministers to dilate upon it, and improve their lustre by any addition, or eloquence of Speech (where, it may be, every kind word, especially from the Prince himself, is looked upon as a new bounty) so it is as requisite in matters of judgment,

B O O K punishment, and censure upon Things, or Persons
L (especially when the Case, in the nature of it, is unusual, and the rules in Judging as extraordinary) that the same be transacted as Privately, and with as little noise, and pomp of words, as may be. For (as Damage is much easier born, and submitted to by generous minds, than Disgrace) in the business of Ship-money, and many other Cases in the Star-Chamber, and at Council-Board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and insolencies, in the Speeches, and Orations of the Judges, much more offensive, and much more scandalous than the Judgments, and Sentences themselves Besides that Men's minds and understandings were more instructed to discern the consequence of things, which before they considered not. And undoubtedly my Lord *Finch's* Speech in the Exchequer-Chamber, made Ship-money much more abhorred, and formidable, than all the Commitments by the Council-Table, and all the Distresses taken by the Sherifs in *England*: the major part of Men (besides the common unconcernedness in other Men's sufferings) looking upon those Proceedings with a kind of applause to themselves, to see other Men Punished, for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determined, when they found their own interest, by the unnecessary Logic of that Argument, no less concluded than Mr. *Hambden's*.

He hath been but an ill observer of the Passages of those times we speak of, who hath not seen many sober Men, who have been clearly satisfied with the conveniency, necessity, and justice of many Senten-

ces, depart notwithstanding extremely offended, and scandalized with the grounds, reasons, and expressions of Those who inflicted those censures; when they found Themselves, thinking to be only Spectators of other Men's sufferings, by some unnecessary Inference or Declaration, in probable danger to become the next Delinquents.

They who look back upon the Council-Books of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Acts of the Star-Chamber then, shall find as high instances of Power, and Sovereignty upon the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity of those Proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules were set, and smartly pursued, and the party felt only the weight of the Judgment, not the passion of his Judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the Public, though as intolerable to the Person: whereas, since those excellent rules of the Council-Board were less observed, and debates (which ought to be in private, and in the absence of the party concerned, and thereupon the Judgment of the Table to be pronounced by one, without the interposition of others, or reply of the party) suffered to be public, questions to be asked, passions discovered, and opinions to be promiscuously delivered; all advice, directions, reprehensions, and censures of those Places grew to be in less reverence, and esteem: so that, besides the delay, and interruption in despatch, the justice, and prudence of the Counsels did not many times weigh down the infirmity, and passion of the Counsellors; and both Suitors and Offenders

BOOK returned into their Country, with such exceptions, and arguments against Persons; as brought, and prepared much prejudice to whatsoever should proceed from thence; and whatever Excuses shall be made, or Arguments given, that upon such extraordinary occasions there was a necessity of some pains, and care to convince Men's understandings of the reasons and grounds of their Proceeding (which, if what was done had been only *ad informandam Conscientiam* without reproach, or penalty, might have been reasonable) it is certain the inconveniency and prejudice, that grew thereby, was greater than the benefit: and the reasons of the Judges being many times not the reasons of the Judgment, those might more satisfactorily, and more shortly have been put in the Sentence itself, than spread in the Discourses of the Censurers.

These Errors (for Errors they were in View, and Errors they are proved by the Success) are not to be imputed to the Court, but to the Spirit, and Over-activity of the Lawyers themselves; who should more carefully have preserved their Profession, and its Professors, from being profaned by those Services, which have rendered both so obnoxious to reproach. There were two Persons of that Profession, and of that time, by whose several, and distinct constitutions (the one knowing nothing of, nor caring for the Court; the other knowing, or caring for nothing else) those Mischiefs were introduced, Mr. Noy, the Attorney General, and Sir John Finch, first, Lord Chief Justice

of the Common Pleas, and then Lord Keeper **B O O K**
of the Great Seal of *England*.

The First upon the great fame of his Ability, and Learning (and he was very Able and Learned) was, by great industry and importunity from Court, persuaded, to accept that Place, for which all other Men labored (being the best, for Profit, that Profession is capable of) and so he suffered himself to be made the King's Attorney General. The Court made no impression upon his Manners; upon his mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected Morosity, which made him unapt to flatter other Men, yet even that Morosity and Pride rendered him the most liable to be grossly flattered himself, that can be imagined. And by this means the great Persons, who steered the Public Affairs, by admiring his Parts, and extolling his Judgment as well to his face, as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the Service, to be an Instrument in all their Designs; thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony, that his knowledge in the Law was greater than all other Men's, than by making that Law which all other Men believed Not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying Project of Soap; and with his own hand drew, and prepared the Writ for Ship-money; both which will be the lasting monuments of his Fame. In a word, he was an unanswerable instance, how necessary a good Education and knowledge of Men is to make a wise man, at least a man fit for business.

1.

Of Attorney
General Moy,

B O O K Sir *John Finch* had Much that the other wanted,

I. but Nothing that the other had. Having led a free
 Of Sir John life in a restrained fortune, and having set up upon
 Finch. the stock of a good Wit, and natural Parts, without
 the superstructure of much knowledge in the Pro-
 fession by which he was to grow; he was willing
 to use those Weapons in which he had most Skill,
 and so (being not unseen in the affections of the Court,
 but not having reputation enough to guide, or
 reform them) he took up Ship-money where Mr.
Noy left it; and, being a Judge, carried it up to
 that pinnacle, from whence he almost broke his
 own neck; having, in his journey thither, had
 too much influence on his Brethren to induce
 them to concur in a Judgment they had all cause
 to repent. To which, his Declaration, after he
 was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, must
 be added, upon a Demurrer put in to a Bill be-
 fore him, which had no other Equity in it, than
 an Order of the Lords of the Council; "that whilst
 "He was Keeper, no man should be so saucy as
 "to dispute those Orders, but that the Wisdom of
 "that Board should be always ground enough for
 "Him to make a Decree in Chancery;" which was
 so great an aggravation of the Excess of that Table,
 that it received more prejudice from that Act of
 unreasonable Countenance and Respect, than from
 all the Contempt could possibly have been offered
 to it. But of this no more.

The Pelicity
 of the Times
 before the

Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be ac-
 cused of much Flattery in this Inquisition) I must
 be so Just as to say, that, during the whole time

that these Pressures were exercised, and those new **B O O K**
 and extraordinary Ways were run, that is, from **I.**
 the dissolution of the Parliament in the Fourth year, **long Parlia-**
 to the beginning of this Parliament, which was **ment not-**
 above twelve years, this Kingdom, and all his **withstanding**
 Majesty's Dominions (of the Interruption in **some Inva-**
Scotland somewhat shall be said in its due time and place) **sions on the**
 enjoyed the greatest Calm, and the fullest measure **Subject.**
 of Felicity, that any People in any Age, for so
 long time together, have been blessed with; to
 the wonder, and envy of all the other parts of
Christendom.

In this Comparison I am neither unmindful of, **Compared**
 nor ungrateful for the Happy times of Queen *Eliza-* **with the**
beth, and King *James*. But for the former, the **times of Queen**
 doubts, hazards, and perplexities, upon a total **Elizabeth:**
 change and alteration of Religion, and some confident Attempts upon a farther alteration by Those who thought the Reformation not carried far enough; the charge, trouble, and anxiety of a long continued War (how prosperous and successful soever) even during that Queen's whole Reign; and (besides some domestic ruptures into Rebellion, frequently into Treason; and besides the blemish of an unparelled Act of Blood upon the Life of a Crowned neighbour Queen and Ally) the fear, and apprehension of what was to come (which is one of the most unpleasant kinds of Melancholy) from an unknown, at least an unacknowledged Successor to the Crown, clouded much of that Prosperity then, which now shines with so much splendor before our eyes in Chronicle.

BOOK

I.

And with the
times of King
James.

And for the other under King *James* (which indeed were excellent times, *bona si sua norint*) the mingling with a Stranger Nation, formerly not very gracious with This; which was like to have more interest of Favor: the subjection to a Stranger Prince, whose nature and disposition they knew not: the discovery of a Treason, the most prodigious that had ever been attempted, upon his first entrance into the Kingdom: the Wants of the Crown not inferior to what it hath since felt (I mean whilst it sate right on the head of the King) and the Pressures upon the Subject of the same nature, and no less complained of: the Absence of the Prince in *Spain*, and the solicitude that his Highness should not be disposed in Marriage to the Daughter of that Kingdom, rendered the Calm and Tranquillity of that time less equal, and pleasant. To which may be added the Prosperity and Happiness of the Neighbour Kingdoms not much inferior to that of this, which, according to the pulse of States, is a great diminution of their health; at least their Prosperity is much improved, and more visible, by the Misery, and Misfortunes of their Neighbours.

The Happiness of the times I now mention, was invidiously set off by this distinction, that every other Kingdom, every other State were entangled, and some almost destroyed by the rage, and fury of Arms; those who were engaged in an ambitious Contention with their Neighbours, having the view and apprehensions of the Miseries, and Desolation, which they saw other States suffer by a Civil War; whilst the Kingdoms we now lament, were alone
looked

looked upon as the Garden of the world; *Scotland* (which was but the Wilderness of that Garden) in a full, entire, and undisturbed Peace, which they had never seen; the rage and barbarism of their Private Feuds being composed to the reverence, or to the awe of public Justice; in a competency, if not in an excess of Plenty, which they had never hopes to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost that in those days was desired or hoped for) free from Rebellion. *Ireland*, which had been a Sponge to draw, and a Gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from *England*, merely to keep the reputation of a Kingdom, reduced to that good degree of Husbandry, and Government, that it not only Subsisted of itself, and gave this Kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increased the Revenue of the Crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides a considerable advantage to the People by the Traffic, and Trade from thence; Arts, and Sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole Nation beginning to be so Civilized, that it was a Jewel of great Lustre in the Royal Diadem.

When these Outworks, were thus fortified, and adorned, it was no wonder if *England* was generally thought secure, with the advantages of its own Climate; the Court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess, and luxury; the Country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride, and wantonness of it; the Church flourishing with learned, and extraor-

B O O K
 L ordinary Men, and (which other good times had in some degree wanted) supplied with Oil to feed those Lamps; and the Protestant Religion more advanced against the Church of *Rome* by Writing (without prejudice to other Useful, and Godly labors) especially by those two Books of the late Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and of Mr. *Chillingworth*, than it had been from the Reformation; Trade increased to that degree, that we were the Exchange of *Christendom* (the Revenue from thence to the Crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times) and the Bullion of neighbour Kingdoms brought to receive a Stamp from the Mint of *England*; Foreign Merchants looking upon nothing so much their own, as what they had laid up in the Warehouses of this Kingdom; the Royal Navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at Sea; and the reputation of the Greatness, and Power of the King, much more with Foreign Princes than any of his Progenitors: for those rough Courses, which made him perhaps less Loved at home, made him more Feared abroad; by how much the Power of Kingdoms is more revered than their Justice by their Neighbours: and it may be this Consideration might not be the least Motive, and may not be the worst Excuse for those Counsels. Lastly for a complement of all these Blessings, they were enjoyed by, and under the Protection of a King, of the most Harmless disposition, the most exemplary Piety, the greatest Sobriety, Chastity, and Mercy, that any Prince hath been endowed

with (God forgive those that have not been Sensible of, and Thankful for those endowments) and who might have said, that which *Pericles* was proud of, upon his death-bed, concerning his Citizens, "that no *English*-man had ever worn a Mourning Gown through His occasion." In a word, many Wise men thought it a Time, wherein those two Adjuncts, which *Nerva* was Deified for uniting, *Imperium & Libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.

But all these Blessings could but enable, not compel us to be Happy: we wanted That sense, acknowledgment, and value of our own Happiness which All but We had: and took pains to make, when we could not find, ourselves Miserable. There was in truth a strange absence of understanding in most, and a strange perverseness of understanding in the rest: the Court full of excess, idleness, and luxury; the Country full of pride, mutiny, and discontent; every man more troubled and perplexed at that they called the Violation of one Law, than delighted or pleased with the Observation of all the rest of the Charter; never imputing the Increase of their receipts, revenue, and plenty, to the wisdom, virtue, and merit of the Crown, but objecting every small Imposition to the exorbitancy, and tyranny of the Government; the growth of Knowledge and Learning being disrelished, for the Infirmities of some learned Men, and the increase of Grace and Favor upon the Church more repined and murmured at, than the increase of Piety and Devotion in it, which was

B O O K as visible, acknowledged, or taken notice of; whilst
 I. the Indiscretion and Folly of one Sermon at *White-Hall* was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the Wisdom, Sobriety, and Devotion of a hundred.

It cannot be denied but there was sometimes Preached there Matter very unfit for the Place, and very scandalous for the Persons, who presumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own Profession, and, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, gave unto Cæsar, what Cæsar, refused to receive, as not belonging to him. But it is as true (as was once said by a Man fitter to be believed in that point than I, and one not suspected for flattering of the Clergy) "that if the Sermons of those times "Preached in Court, were collected together, and "published, the world would receive the best bulk "of Orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing Reason, natural powerful Eloquence, and "admirable Devotion, that hath been communicated "in any Age since the Apostles time." And I cannot but say, for the honor of the King, and of Those who were trusted by him in his Ecclesiastical collations (who have received but sad rewards for their uprightness) in those reproached, condemned times, there was not one Church-man, in any degree of favor, or acceptance (and this the Inquisition, that hath been since made upon them, a stricter never was in any Age, must confess) of a scandalous insufficiency in Learning, or of a more scandalous condition of Life; but on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent parts in Know-

ledge, and of virtuous and unblemished Lives. And therefore Wise men knew, that That, which looked like Pride in some, and like Petulance in others, would, by Experience in affairs, and Conversation amongst men, both of which most of them wanted, be in time wrought off, or, in a new Succession, reformed, and so thought the vast advantage from their Learning, and Integrity, an ample recompence for any inconveniency from their Passion; and yet by the prodigious Impidity of those times, the latter was only looked on with malice and revenge, without any reverence, or gratitude for the former.

When the King found himself possessed of all that Tranquillity mentioned before, that he had no reason to apprehend any Enemies from abroad, and less any Insurrections at home, against which no Kingdom in *Christendom*, in the constitution of its Government, in the solidity of the Laws, and in the nature and disposition of the People, was more Secure than *England*; that He might take a nearer view of those great Blessings which God had poured upon him, he resolved to make a Progress into the Northern parts of his Kingdom, and to be solemnly Crowned in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, which he had never seen from the time he had first left it, when he was about two years old. In order to this Journey, which was made with great Splendor, and proportionable Expense, he added to the Train of his Court many of the greatest Nobility, who increased the Pomp of the Court at their own charge (for so they were required to do) and seemed with

B O O K
I.

The King's
first journey
into Scotland
to be Crowned
there

BOOK alacrity to submit to the King's pleasure, as soon
 1. as they knew his desire; and so his Attendance in all respects was proportionable to the Glory of the greatest King.

This whole Progress was made from the first setting out, to the end of it, with the greatest Magnificence imaginable; and the highest excess of Feasting was then introduced, or, at least, Feasting was then carried to a height it never had attained before, from whence it hardly declined afterwards, to the great damage and mischief of the Nation in their Estates, and Manners. All Persons of Quality and Condition, who lived within distance of the Northern Road, received the great persons of the Nobility with that Hospitality which became them; in which all cost was employed to make their Entertainments splendid, and their Houses capable of those entertainments. The King himself met with many entertainments of that nature, at the charge of particular Men, who desired the honor of his Presence, which had been rarely practised till then by the Persons of the best Condition, though it had since grown into a very inconvenient custom. But when he passed through *Nottinghamshire*, both King and Court were received, and entertained by the Earl of *Newcastle*, and at his own proper expense. in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of Feasting, as had scarce ever before been known in *England*; and would be still thought very prodigious, if the same noble Person had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more stupendous Enter-

tainment; which (God be thanked) though possibly it might too much whet the appetite of others to Excess, no man ever after in those days limited. BOOK
I.

The great Offices of the Court, and principal places of Attendance upon the King's person, were then upon the matter equally divided between the *English* and the *Scots*; the Marquis of *Hamilton* Master of the Horse, and the Earl of *Carlisle* first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and almost all the second rank of Servants in that place, being of that Kingdom; so that there was as it were an Emulation between the two Nations, which should appear in the greatest Lustre, in Clothes, Horses, and Attendance: and as there were (as is said before) many of the principal Nobility of *England*, who attended upon the King, and who were not of the Court; so the Court was never without many *Scottish* Volunteers, and their number was well increased upon this occasion in Nobility and Gentry, who were resolved to confute all those who had believed their Country to be very poor.

The King no sooner entered *Scotland*; but all his *English* Servants and Officers yielded up their Attendance to those of the *Scottish* Nation, who were admitted into the same Offices in *Scotland*, or had some Titles to those Employments by the constitution of that Kingdom; as most of the great Offices are held by Inheritance; as the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox* was then high Steward, and high Admiral of *Scotland* by Descent, as Others had the like possession of other Places; so that all the Tables of the House, which had been kept by the

The King's
Magnificent
Reception
there:

- B O O K *English* Officers, were laid down, and taken up again by the *Scots*, who kept them up with the same order, and equal splendor, and treated the *English* with all the freedom and courtesy imaginable; as all the Nobility of that Nation did, at their own expence, where their Offices did not entitle them to Tables at the charge of the Crown, keep very noble Houses to entertain their new Guests; who had so often, and so well entertained them: and it cannot be denied, the whole behaviour of that Nation towards the *English* was as generous, and obliging as could be expected; and the King appeared with no less Lustre at *Edinburgh*, than at *White-Hall*; and in this Pomp his Coronation passed with all the Solemnity, and evidence of public Joy that could be expected, or that can be imagined; and the Parliament, then held, with no less demonstration of Duty, passed and presented those Acts which were prepared for them to the Royal Sceptre; in which were some Laws restraining the extravagant power of the Nobility, which, in many cases, they had long exercised, and the diminution whereof they took very heavily, though at that time they took little notice of it; the King being absolutely advised in all the Affairs of that Kingdom then, and long before, and after, by the sole counsel of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was, or at least, was then believed to be of the greatest Interest of any Subject in that Kingdom, of whom more will be said hereafter.
- The King was very well pleased with his Reception, and with all the Transactions there; nor

indeed was there any thing to be blamed, but the luxury, and vast expense, which abounded in all respects of Feasting, and Clothes with too much licence: which being imputed to the commendable zeal of the People, of all conditions, to see their King amongst them, whom they were not like to see there again, and so their expense was to be but once made, no man had cause to suspect any mischief from it: and yet the Debts contracted at that time by the Nobility, and Gentry, and the Wants and Temptations they found themselves exposed to, from that unlimited Expense, did very much contribute to the kindling that Fire, which shortly after broke out in so terrible a combustion: nor were the sparks of Murmur and Sedition then so well covered, but that many discerning men discovered very pernicious Designs to lurk in Their breasts, who seemed to have the most cheerful Countenances, and who acted great parts in the Pomp, and Triumph. And it evidently appeared, that They of that Nation, who Shined most in the Court of *England*, had the least Influence in their own Country, except only the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whose affection to his Master was even then suspected by the wisest men in both Kingdoms; and that the immense Bounties the King, and his Father had scattered amongst those of that Nation, out of the Wealth of *England*, besides that he had sacrificed the whole Revenue of that Kingdom to Themselves, were not looked upon as any benefit to that Nation, but as obligations cast away upon particular Men; many of whom had with it wasted their own Patrimony in their Country.

BOOK
I.

Yet the Seeds
of the suc-
ceeding Com-
motions then
sown.

BOOK

I.

The King himself observed many of the Nobility to endeavour to make themselves popular by speaking in Parliament against those things which were most grateful to his Majesty, and which still Passed notwithstanding their contradiction; and he thought a little Discountenance upon those Persons would either suppress that Spirit within themselves, or make the Poison of it less operative upon others. But as those acts of Discountenance were too often believed to proceed from the displeasure of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by that means rather advanced, than depressed them, so they had an admirable dexterity in sheltering themselves from any of those Acts of discountenance, which they had no mind to own, when it hath been visible, and was then notorious, that many of the Persons then, as the Earl of *Rothes*, and others, of whom the King had the worst opinion, and from whom he purposely withheld any grace by never speaking to them, or taking notice of them in the Court, yet when the King was abroad in the Fields, or passing through Villages, when the greatest crowds of People flocked to see him, those Men would still be next him, and entertain him with some discourse, and pleasant relations, which the King's gentle disposition could not avoid, and which made those Persons to be generally believed to be most acceptable to his Majesty; upon which the Lord *Falkland* was wont to say, "that keeping
"of State was like committing Adultery, there must
"go Two to it:" for let the proudest or most formal Man resolve to keep what distance he will towards

others, a bold and confident man instantly demolishes that whole Machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own Laws of conversation. BOOK
I.

The King was always the most punctual observer of all Decency in his Devotion, and the strictest promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing, in his Soul the Church of *England* to be instituted the nearest to the Practice of the Apostles, and the best for the propagation and advancement of Christian Religion, of any Church in the World: and on the other side, though no man was more averse from the *Romish* Church than He was, nor better understood the motives of their Separation from us, and Animosity against us, he had the highest dislike, and prejudice to that part of his own Subjects, who were against the Government established, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous, and seditious People; who would under pretence of Conscience, which kept them from submitting to the Spiritual Jurisdiction, take the first opportunity, they could find, or make, to withdraw themselves from their Temporal Subjection; and therefore he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that Temper and Disposition to be watched and provided against in *England*; and if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy. In *Scotland* indeed it covered the whole Nation, so that, though there were Bishops in Name, the whole Jurisdiction, and they Themselves were, upon the matter, subject to an Assembly, which was purely Presbyterian; no Form of Religion in practice, no Liturgy, nor

- B O O K** the least appearance of any Beauty of Holiness: The
- I.** Clergy, for the most part, corrupted in their Principles; at least, none countenanced by the great Men, or favored by the People, but Such; though it must be owned their Universities, especially *Aberdeen*, flourished under many excellent Scholars, and very Learned men. Yet, though all the Cathedral Churches were totally neglected with reference to those Administrations, over the whole Kingdom, the King's own Chapel at *Holy-rood-house* had still been maintained with the comeliness of the Cathedral Service, and all other Decencies used in the Royal Chapel; and the whole Nation seemed, in the time of King *James*, well inclined to receive the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which that King exceedingly desired, and was so confident of, that they who were Privy to his Counsels, in that time, did believe, the bringing that Work to pass was the principal end of his Progress thither some years before his death; though he was not so well satisfied at his being there, two or three of the principal Persons trusted by him in the Government of that Kingdom, dying in, or about that very time; but though he returned without making any visible attempt in that Affair, yet he retained still the purpose and resolution to his death to bring it to pass. However, his two or three last years having been less pleasant to him, by the Prince's voyage into *Spain*, the Jealousies which, about that time, begun in *England*, and the high Proceedings in Parliament there, he thought it necessary to suspend any prosecution of that Design, until a more favorable conjuncture, which he lived not to see.

The King his Son, who with his Father's other Virtues, inherited that Zeal for Religion, proposed nothing more to himself, than to Unite his three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worship, and public Devotions; and there being now so great a Serenity in all his Dominions as is mentioned before, there is great reason to believe, that in this journey into *Scotland* to be Crowned, he carried with him the resolution to Finish that important business in the Church at the same time. To that end, the then Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Laud*, attended on his Majesty throughout that whole journey, which, as he was Dean of the Chapel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excused from, if that Design had not been in view; to accomplish which he was no less solicitous than the King himself, nor the King the less solicitous for his Advice. He Preached in the Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh* (which scarce any *English*-man had ever done before in the King's presence) and principally upon the benefit of Conformity, and the reverend Ceremonies of the Church, with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable; the great civility of that People being so notorious, and universal, that they would not appear unconformable to his Majesty's wish in any particular. And many Wise Men were then, and still are of Opinion, that, if the King had Then proposed the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to have been received and practised by that Nation, it would have been submitted to without opposition: but, upon mature consideration, the King concluded that it was not a good Season to promote that Business.

BOOK

I.

Transactions
about intro-
ducing a Li-
turgy into
Scotland.

B O O K

I.

He had passed two or three Acts of Parliament, which had much lessened the Authority and Dependence of the Nobility, and great Men, and incensed, and disposed them proportionably to cross, and oppose any Proposition, which would be most grateful; and that overthwart humor was enough discovered to rule in the breasts of many, who made the greatest professions. Yet this was not the Obstruction which diverted the King: the Party that was averse from the thing, and abhorred any thought of Conformity, could not have been powerful enough to have stopped the progress of it; the mischief was, that They who most desired it, and were most concerned to promote it, were the Men who used all their credit to divert the Present attempting it; and the Bishops themselves, whose Interest was to be most advanced thereby, applied all their Counsels secretly to have the matter more Maturely considered; and the whole Design was never consulted but Privately, and only some few of the great Men of that Nation, and some of the Bishops advised with by the King, and the Bishop of *London*; it being manifest enough, that as the Finishing that great Affair must be very grateful to *England*, so the *English* must not appear to have a hand in the Contriving, and Promoting it.

The same Men, who did not only pretend, but really and heartily wish, that they might have a Liturgy to order, and regulate the Worship of God in their Churches, and did very well approve the Ceremonies established in the Church of *England*, and desired to submit to, and practice the same there,

had no mind that the Very Liturgy of the Church of *England* should be proposed to, or accepted by them; for which they offered two prudential Reasons, as their Observations upon the nature, and humor of the Nation, and upon the Conferences they had often had with the Best Men upon that Subject, which was often agitated in discourse, upon what had been formerly projected by King *James*, and upon what frequently occurred to Wise men in Discourses upon the thing itself, and the desirableness of it.

The First was, that the *English* Liturgy, how piously and wisely soever framed, and instituted, had found great Opposition: and though the matter of the Ceremonies had wrought for the most part only upon Light-headed, Weak Men, whose satisfaction was not to be labored for; yet there were many Grave, and Learned Men, who excepted against some Particulars, which would not be so easily answered; "That the reading *Psalms* being of the old Translation were in many particulars so different from the new and better Translation, that many instances might be given of importance to the Sense, and Truth of Scripture." They said somewhat of the same nature concerning the Translation of the *Epistles*, and *Gospels*, and some other Exceptions against reading the *Apocrypha*, and some other Particulars of less moment; and desired "that in forming a Liturgy for Their Church, they might, by reforming those several Instances, give satisfaction to Good Men, who would thereupon be easily induced to submit to it."

B O O K

I.

The other Reason, which no doubt was the principal, and took this in the way to give it the better introduction, was, “ that the Kingdom of *Scotland* “ generally had been long Jealous, that by the King’s “ continued absence from them, they should by “ degrees be reduced to be but as a Province to “ *England*, and subject to their Laws, and Govern- “ ment, which they would never submit to; nor “ would any Man of Honor, who loved the King “ best, and respected *England* most, ever consent to “ bring that Dishonor upon his Country. If the “ very Liturgy, in the terms it is constituted, and “ practised in *England*, should be offered to them, “ it would kindle, and inflame that Jealousy, as the “ Prologue, and Introduction to that Design, and “ as the first Range of that Ladder, which should “ serve to mount over all their Customs, and Pri- “ vileges, and be opposed, and detested accor- “ dingly: whereas, if his Majesty would give order “ for the preparing of a Liturgy, with those few “ desirable Alterations, it would easily be done; “ and in the mean time They would so dispose the “ minds of the People for the reception of it, that they should even desire it.” This Expedient was so passionately, and vehemently urged even by the Bishops, that however they deferred to the minds, and humors of other Men, it was manifest enough, that the Exception, and Advice proceeded from the pride of their own hearts.

The Bishop of *London*, who was always present with the King at these Debates, was exceedingly troubled at this Delay, and to find those Men the Instru-

Instruments in it, who seemed to him as Solicitous for the expedition, as Zealous for the thing itself, and who could not but Suffer by the deferring it. He knew well how far any Enemies to Conformity would be from being satisfied with those small Alterations, which being consented to, they would with more confidence, though less reason, frame other Exceptions, and insist upon them with more obstinacy. He foresaw the Difficulties which would arise in rejecting, or altering, or adding to the Liturgy, which had so great Authority, and had, by the practice of near fourscore years, obtained great Veneration from all sober Protestants; and how much easier it would be to make Objections against any thing that should be New, than against the Old; and would therefore have been very glad that the former Resolution might be pursued; there having never been any thoughts in the time of King *James*, or the present King, but of the *English* Liturgy; besides that any Variation from it, in how small matters soever, would make the Uniformity the less, the Manifestation whereof was that which was most aimed at, and desired.

The King had exceedingly set his heart upon the matter, and was as much scandalized as any Man at the disorder, and Indecency in the exercise of Religion in that Church: yet he was affected with what was offered for a little Delay in the execution, and knew more of the ill humor, and practices amongst the Greatest Men of the Kingdom at that season, than the Bishop did, and believed he could better compose, and reduce them in a little time,

BOOK and at a distance, than at the present, and whilst he
 I. was amongst them. Besides he was in his nature much inclined to the *Scottish* Nation, having been born amongst them, and as Jealous, as any one of Them could be, of their Liberties and Privileges, and as Careful they might not be Invaded by the *English*, who, he knew, had no great reverence for them: and therefore the Objection, "that it would look like an Imposition from *England*, if a Form, settled in Parliament at *Westminster*, should without any Alteration be tendered (though by Himself) to be submitted to, and observed in *Scotland*," made a deep Impression in his Majesty.

In a word, he committed the Framing, and Composing such a Liturgy, as would most probably be Acceptable to that People, to a select number of the Bishops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it: and so his Majesty returned into *England*, at the time he had designed, without having ever proposed, or made the least approach in Public, towards any Alteration in the Church.

It had been very happy, if there had been then nothing done indeed, that had any reference to that Affair, and that, since it was not ready, nothing had been transacted to promote it, which accidentally alienated the affections of the People from it; and what was done, was imputed to the Bishop of *London*, who was like enough to be guilty of it; since he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit, and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Church-men to places of the greatest Honor, and Offices of the

highest Trust: This Opinion; and the Prosecution of it (though his Integrity was unquestionable, and his Zeal as great for the good and honor of the State, as for the advancement and security of the Church) was the unhappy Foundation of his own Ruin, and of the Prejudice towards the Church, the malice against it, and almost the Destruction of it.

During the King's stay in *Scotland*, when he found the conjuncture not yet ripe for perfecting that good Order, which he intended in the Church, he resolved to leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Esteem of it. *Edinburgh* though the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the chief Seat of the King's own Residence, and the Place where the Council of State and the Courts of Justice still remained, was but a Borough Town within the Diocese of the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, and governed in all Church-affairs by the Preachers of the Town; who, being chosen by the Citizens from the time of Mr. *Knox* (who had a principal hand in the Suppression of Popery, with circumstances not very commendable to this day) had been the most turbulent, and seditious Ministers of Confusion, that could be found in the Kingdom; of which King *James* had so sad experience, after he came to age, as well as in his minority, that he would often say, "that his access to the Crown of *England* was "the more valuable to him, as it redeemed him from "the subjection to the ill manners, and insolent "practices of those Preachers, which he could never shake off before." The King before his return from thence, with the full consent, and approbation

B O O K
I.

The King
during his
stay there
erects the
Bishopric
of Edin-
borough.

B O O K of the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, erected *Edinburgh* into a Bishopric; assigned it a good and convenient Jurisdiction out of the nearest limits of the Diocese of *Saint Andrews*, appointed the fairest Church in the Town to be the Cathedral, settled a competent Revenue upon the Bishop out of the Lands purchased by his Majesty himself from the Duke of *Lenox* who sold it much the cheaper, that it might be consecrated to so Pious an end; and placed a very eminent Scholar of a good Family in the Kingdom, who had been educated in the University of *Cambridge*, to be the first Bishop in that his new City; and made another Person, of good Fame, and Learning, the first Dean of his new Cathedral, upon whom likewise he settled a proper Maintenance; hoping by this means the better to prepare the People of the Place, who were the most numerous, and richest of the Kingdom, to have a due reverence to Order, and Government, and, at least, to discountenance, if not suppress the Faction Spirit of Presbytery, which had so long ruled there. But this Application little contributed thereunto: the People generally thought, that they had too many Bishops before, and so the increasing the number was not like to be very grateful to them.

The Bishops had indeed very little Interest in the affections of that Nation, and less Authority over it; they had not power to Reform, or Regulate their own Cathedrals; and very rarely showed themselves in the Habit, and Robes of Bishops; and durst not contest with the General Assembly in matters of Jurisdiction: so that there was little more than the

Name of Episcopacy preserved in that Church. To redeem them from that Contempt, and to show that they should be Considerable in the State, how little Authority soever they were permitted to have in the Church, the King made the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, a Learned, Wise, and Pious man, and of long Experience, Chancellor of the Kingdom (the greatest Office, and which had never been in the hands of a Church-man since the Reformation of Religion, and Suppressing the Pope's Authority) and four or five other Bishops of the Privy-Council, or Lords of the Session; which his Majesty presumed, by their Power in the Civil Government, and in the Judicatories of Kingdom, would render them so much the more Reverenced, and the better enable them to Settle the affairs of the Church: which fell out otherwise too; and it had been better that invidious Promotion had been suspended, till by their grave and pious deportment they had wrought upon their Clergy to be better disposed to obey them, and upon the People to like order, and discipline; and till by these means the Liturgy had been settled, and received amongst them; and then the advancing some of them to greater Honor, might have done well.

But this unseasonable accumulation of so many Honors upon them, to which their Functions did not entitle them (no Bishop having been so much as a Privy-Counsellor in very many years) exposed them to the universal Envy of the whole Nobility, many whereof wished them well, as to their Ecclesiastical qualifications, but could not endure to see

B O O K them possessed of those Offices, and Employments, which they looked upon as naturally belonging to Themselves; and then the number of them was thought too great, so that they Overbalanced many Debates; and some of them by want of temper, or want of breeding, did not behave themselves with that Decency in their Debates, towards the greatest Men of the Kingdom, as in discretion they ought to have done, and as the others reasonably expected from them: so that instead of bringing any Advantage to the Church, or facilitating the good Intentions of the King in settling Order, and Government, it produced a more general Prejudice to it; though for the present there appeared no sign of Discontent, or ill Will to them, and the King left *Scotland*, as he believed, full of affection, and Duty to him, and well inclined to receive a Liturgy, when he should think it seasonable to commend it to them.

The King's
return, and
the Death of
Arch-Bishop
Abbot,
1633: his
Character.

It was about the end of *August* in the Year 1633, when the King returned from *Scotland* to *Greenwich*; where the Queen kept her Court; and the first Accident of moment, that happened after his coming thither, was the Death of *Abbot* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; who had sat too many years in that See, and had too great a Jurisdiction over the Church, though he was without any Credit in the Court from the death of King *James*, and had not much in many years before. He had been Head, or Master of one of the poorest Colleges in *Oxford*, and had Learning sufficient for that Province. He was a man of very morose manners, and a very four aspect, which, in that time, was called Gravity; and under the opi-

5. nion of that Virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's first *Scotch* Favorite, he was preferred by King *James* to the Bishopric of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and presently after to *London*, before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate of any Parish-Church in *England*, or Dean, or Prebend of any Cathedral-Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true Constitution of the Church of *England*, and the State and Interest of the Clergy; as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward.

He had scarce performed any part of the office of a Bishop in the Diocese of *London*, when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to *Canterbury*, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr. *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, who understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-conformists, by, and after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; countenanced men of the greatest parts in Learning, and disposed the Clergy to a more solid course of Study, than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that Fire in *England*, which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been succeeded by Bishop *Andrews*, Bishop *Overal*, or any man, who understood, and loved the Church, that Infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.

But *Abbot* brought none of this Antidote with him, and considered Christian Religion no other-

BOOK

I.

wife, than as it abhorred, and reviled Popery, and valued those men most, who did That the most furiously. For the strict observation of the Discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the Articles, or Canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the Ancient, and Solid study of Divinity, he adhered only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and, for his sake; did not think so ill of the Discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling, and railing at the Hierarchy, and Ecclesiastical Government, let their opinions, and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him. And though many other Bishops plainly discerned the Mischiefs, which daily broke in to the Prejudice of Religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own Dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other Parts, and other Principles; and though the Bishop of *London* Dr. *Laud*, from the time of his Authority and Credit with the King had applied all the Remedies he could to those Defections, and, from the time of his being Chancellor of *Oxford*, had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed that Spirit, by encouraging another kind of Learning, and Practice in that University, which was indeed according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper in the Arch-Bishop, whose House was a Sanctuary to the most eminent of that Factious Party, and who Licensed their most

Pernicious Writings, left his Successor a very difficult work to do, to Reform, and reduce a Church into Order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful Church-men.

It was within one week after the King's return from *Scotland*, that *Abbot* died at his House at *Lambeth*. The King took very little time to consider who should be his Successor, but the very next time the Bishop of *London* (who was longer on his way home than the King had been) came to him, his Majesty entertained him very cheerfully with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome*, and gave order the same day for the despatch of all the necessary forms for the Translation: so that within a month or thereabouts after the death of the other Arch-Bishop, he was completely invested in that high Dignity, and settled in his Palace at *Lambeth*. This great Prelate had been before in great favor with the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose chief Confident he was, and by him recommended to the King, as fittest to be trusted in the conferring all Ecclesiastical Preferments, when he was but Bishop of *Saint Davids*, or newly preferred to *Bath and Wells*; and from that time he entirely governed that province, without a rival: so that his promotion to *Canterbury* was long foreseen, and expected; nor was it attended with any increase of envy, or dislike.

He was a man of great Parts, and very exemplary Virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural Infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself) that he

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Bishop Land
made Arch-
Bishop: his
Character.

B O O K believed Innocence of heart, and Integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what Company soever he travelled, and through what Ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that Provision. He was born of honest Parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the Schools of Learning, from whence they sent him to *St. Johns College in Oxford*, the worst endowed at that time of any in that famous University. From a Scholar he became a Fellow, and then the President of the College, after he had received all the graces, and degrees (the Proctorship, and the Doctorship) could be obtained there. He was always maligned, and persecuted by those who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim, and practice, call every man they do not love Papist; and under this senseless appellation, they created him many troubles, and vexations; and so far suppressed him, that though he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the most sublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him bread, till the vigor of his age was past: and when he was promoted by King *James*, it was but to a poor Bishopric in *Wales*, which was not so good a Support for a Bishop, as his College was for a private Scholar, though a Doctor.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy, and the Party, under which he had suffered a continual Persecution, appeared very

powerful, and full of design, and They who had the courage to Oppose them, begun to be taken notice of with approbation, and countenance : under this Style he came to be first cherished by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made some experiments of the temper, and spirit of the Other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren Diocese of *Saint Davids*, into a warmer Climate, he was left, as was said before, by that great Favorite in that great Trust with the King; who was sufficiently indisposed towards the Persons, or the Principles of *Calvin's* Disciples.

When he came into great Authority, it may be, he retained too keen a memory of Those who had so unjustly, and uncharitably Persecuted him before; and I doubt, was so far transporred with the same Passions he had reason to complain of in his Adversaries, that, as they accused Him of Popery, because he had some doctrinal Opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to Popery; so he entertained too much prejudice to some Persons, as if They were Enemies to the Discipline of the Church, because they concurred with *Calvin* in some doctrinal Points; when they abhorred his Discipline, and revered the Government of the Church, and prayed for the Peace of it with as much zeal, and fervency as any in the Kingdom; as they made manifest in their Lives; and in their Sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise, or dissimulation, declared his own

B O O K opinion of that Classis of men, and, as soon as it
I. was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth, and increase of that Faction, and to restrain Those who were inclined to it, from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, whilst he had a Superior in the Church, who, having the Reins in His hand, could Slacken them according to his own humor, and indiscretion; and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his cholerick disposition. But when he had now the Primacy in his own hand, the King being inspired with the same Zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply Remedies to those Diseases, which he saw would grow apace.

In the end of *September*, of the year 1633, he was invested in the Title, Power, and Jurisdiction of Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and entirely in possession of the Revenue thereof, without a Rival in Church or State; that is, no man Professed to oppose his Greatness; and he had never interposed or appeared in Matters of State to this time. His first Care was, that the Place he was removed from, might be supplied with a Man who would be vigilant to pull up those Weeds, which the *London* Soil was too apt to nourish, and so drew his old Friend and Companion *Dr. Juxon* as near to him as he could. They had been Fellows together in one College in *Oxford*, and, when he was first made Bishop of *Saint Davids*, he made him

Dr. Juxon
 made Bishop
 of *London*.

President of that College: when he could no longer keep the Deanry of the Chapel-Royal, he made him his Successor in that near Attendance upon the King: and now he was raised to be Archbishop, he easily prevailed with the King to make the Other, Bishop of *London*, before, or very soon after he had been Consecrated Bishop of *Hereford*, if he were more than Elect of that Church.

It was now a time of great Ease and Tranquillity; the King (as hath been said before) had made himself Superior to all those Difficulties and Streights he had to contend with the four first years he came to the Crown at Home; and was now Reverenced by all his Neighbours, who needed his Friendship, and desired to have it; the Wealth of the Kingdom notorious to all the World, and the general Temper, and Humor of it, little inclined to the Papist, and less to the Puritan. There were some late Taxes and Impositions introduced, which rather angered than grieved the People, who were more than repaired by the Quiet, Peace, and Prosperity they enjoyed; and the Murmur and Discontent that was, appeared to be against the Excess of Power exercised by the Crown, and supported by the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*. The Church was not repined at, nor the least inclination to alter the Government, and Discipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine. Nor was there at that time any considerable number of Persons of any valuable Condition throughout the Kingdom, who did wish either; and the cause of so prodigious a Change in so few years after was too vi-

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BOOK I. fible from the effects. The Arch-bishop's heart was fet upon the advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the King's full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition; and that he should need no other assistance.

Warm Contentions concerning those called the Arminian Points.

Though the Nation generally, as was said before, was without any ill Talent to the Church, either in the point of the Doctrine, or the Discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that Popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called Innovation, and were easily persuaded, that any thing of that kind was but to please the Papists. Some doctrinal Points in Controversy had been, in the late years, agitated in the Pulpits with more warmth and reflections, than had used to be; and thence the heat, and animosity increased in Books *Pro* and *Con* upon the same Arguments: most of the popular Preachers, who had not looked into the Ancient Learning, took *Calvin's* word for it, and did all they could to propagate his Opinions in those Points: They who had studied more, and were better versed in the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Ecclesiastical Histories, with the same heat and passion in Preaching and Writing, defended the contrary.

But because in the late Dispute in the *Dutch* Churches, those Opinions were supported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the Divinity Professor in the University of *Leyden* in *Holland*, the latter Men we men-

tioned, were called *Arminians*; though many of them had never read a word written by *Arminius*. Either side defended, and maintained the different Opinions as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as the two great Orders in the Church of *Rome*, the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, did at the same time, and had many hundred years before, with more vehemence and uncharitableness, maintained the same Opinions one against the other; either Party professing to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, which had been ever wiser than to Determine the Controversy. And yet that Party here, which could least support themselves with Reason, were very solicitous, according to the Ingenuity they always practice to advance any of their Pretences, to have the People believe, that they who held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery; and truly the other Side was no less willing to have it thought, that all who adhered to *Calvin* in those Controversies, did in their Hearts likewise adhere to him with reference to the Discipline, and desired to change the Government of the Church, destroy the Bishops, and to set up the Discipline that he had established at *Geneva*; and so both Sides found such reception generally with the People, as they were inclined to the Persons; whereas, in truth none of the one Side were at all inclined to Popery, and very many of the Other were most affectionate to the Peace and Prosperity of the Church, and very Pious, and Learned Men.

The Arch-bishop had, all his life, eminently opposed *Calvin's* Doctrine in those Controversies, be-

Arch-Bishop
Laud's cha-

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rather conti-
nued.

fore the name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinions heard of, and thereupon for want of another Name, they had called him a Papist, which no body believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his Disputations, and Writings, than most Men had done; and it may be the Other found the more severe, and rigorous Usage from him, for their propagating that Calumny against him. He was a man of great Courage and Resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs, but what was Pious and Just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his Country) he never studied the easiest ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the Integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court Persons too little; nor cared to make his designs, and purposes, appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him. If the Faults, and Vices were fit to be looked into, and discovered, let the Persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of Favor from him. He intended the Discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid Transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller Offences, and meaner offenders, and thereupon called for, or cherished the discovery of Those who were not careful to cover their

own

own Iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other Men, or their Power, or Will to chastise. Persons of Honor, and great Quality, of the Court, and of the Country, were every day cited into the High-Commission-Court, upon the fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their Shame, and Punishment: and as the Shame (which they called an Insolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and levelling Them with the common People) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the Fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against; because they were assigned to the rebuilding, and repairing *St. Paul's Church*; and thought therefore to be the more Severely imposed, and the less Compassionately reduced and excused: which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigor of the Star-Chamber more felt, and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humors against the Bishops, before they had any ill Intention towards the Church.

There were three Persons most notorious for their declared Malice against the Government of the Church by Bishops, in their several Books, and Writings, which they had published to Corrupt the People, with circumstances very Scandalous, and in a language very Scurrilous and Impudent; which all Men thought deserved very exemplary Punishment: They were of the three several Professions which had the most influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Physic; none of them of interest, or any esteem with the worthy part of their several Profes-

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sions, having been formerly all looked upon under Characters of Reproach: yet when they were all Sentenced, and for the execution of that Sentence brought out to be Punished as common, and signal Rogues, exposed upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the poorest, and most mechanic Malefactors used to be, when they were not able to redeem themselves by any Fine for their Trespases, or to satisfy any damages for the Scandals they had raised against the good name, and reputation of others) Men begun no more to consider their Manners, but the Men; and each Profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their Education, and Degrees, and Quality, would have secured them from such Infamous Judgments, and treasured up Wrath for the time to come.

The remissness of *Abbot* and of other Bishops by his example, had introduced, or at least connived, at a Negligence, that gave great scandal to the Church, and no doubt offended very many Pious men. The People took so little care of the Churches, and the Parsons as little of the Chancels, that, instead of Beautying, or Adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided against the falling of many of their Churches; and suffered them at least to be kept so indecently, and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own Houses; the Rain and the Wind to infest them; and the Sacraments themselves to be Administered where the People had most mind to receive them. This Profane liberty and uncleanness, the Archbishop resolved to Reform with all expedition; re-

quiring the other Bishops to Concur with him in so Pious a work; and the work sure was very grateful to all Men of Devotion: yet, I know not how, the Prosecution of it with too much affectation of Expence, it may be, or with too much Passion between the Ministers and the Parishioners, raised an evil Spirit towards the Church, which the Enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had an opportunity to make the worst use of it.

The removing the Communion-Table out of the body of the Church, where it had used to stand, and to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the Chancel, which frequently made the buying a new Table to be necessary; the inclosing it with a Rail of Joiner's work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of Dogs, and all Servile uses; the obliging all Persons to come up to those Rails to receive the Sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent Persons, who loved Order and Decency (for acceptable it was to such) yet introduced first Murmurings amongst the People (upon the very Charge and Expence of it) and if the Minister were not a man of discretion and reputation to Compose, and Reconcile those Indispositions (as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed, and increased the Distemper) it begot Suits, and Appeals at Law. The opinion that there was no Necessity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too Much done, brought the Power and Jurisdiction that imposed the doing of it, to be called in question, contradicted, and opposed. Then the manner, and gesture, and posture, in the Celebra-

B O O K tion of it, brought in new Disputes, and administered
L new subjects of Offence, according to the custom of the Place, and humor of the People: and those Disputes brought in new words and terms (Altar, Adoration, and Genuflexion, and other expressions) for the more perspicuous carrying on those Disputations. New Books were written for, and against this new Practice, with the same earnestness, and contention for Victory, as if the Life of Christianity had been at stake. Besides, there was not an equal Concurrence, in the prosecution of this matter, amongst the Bishops themselves; some of them proceeding more remissly in it, and some not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but restraining those who had a mind to it, from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient Disputes, when the Subordinate Clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of their Diocesans, but expressly against their Injunctions, to make those Alterations and Reformati^ons themselves, and by their own Authority.

The Arch-Bishop guided purely by his Zeal, and Reverence for the Place of God's Service, and by the Canons, and Injunctions of the Church, with the custom observed in the King's Chapel, and in most Cathedral Churches, without considering the long intermission, and discontinuance, in many other Places, prosecuted this Affair more Passionately than was fit for the Season, and had Prejudice against Those, who out of fear, or foresight, or not understanding the Thing, had not the same Warmth to promote it. The Bishops who had been preferred by his

Eavor, or hoped to be so, were at least as Solicitous B O O K
 to bring it to pass in their several Diocesess; and some I.
 of them with more Passion, and less Circumspection,
 than they had his Example for, or than he Appro-
 ved; prosecuting those who opposed them, very
 Fiercely, and sometimes Unwarrantably, which was
 kept in Remembrance. Whilst other Bishops, not
 so many in number, or so valuable in weight, who
 had not been beholding to him, nor had hope of
 being so, were enough contented to give Perfunctory
 orders for the doing it, and to see the Execution of
 those Orders not minded; and not the less pleased
 to find, that the prejudice of that whole Transaction
 reflected solely upon the Arch-Bishop.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* (*Williams*) who had here-
 tofore been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*,
 and generally unacceptable whilst he held that Office,
 was, since his disgrace at Court, and prosecution
 from thence, become very Popular; and having se-
 veral Faults objected to him, the Punishment where-
 of threatened him every day, he was very willing to
 change the Scene, and to be brought upon the Stage
 for opposing these Innovations (as he called them) in
 Religion. It was an unlucky word, and cozened
 very many honest Men into apprehensions very Pre-
 judicial to the King, and to the Church. He Publish-
 ed a Discourse and Treatise against the matter, and
 manner of the Prosecution of that Business; a Book
 so full of good Learning, and that Learning so close,
 and solidly applied (though it abounded with too
 many light expressions) that it gained him reputa-
 tion enough to be able to do Hurt; and showed that,

B O O K in his retirement, he had spent his time with his
1. Books very profitably. He used all the Wit, and all the Malice he could, to awaken the People to a jealousy of these Agitations, and innovations in the exercise of Religion; not without Insinuations that it aimed at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would quickly find a name; and he was ambitious to have it believed that the Arch-Bishop was his greatest Enemy, for his having constantly opposed his rising to any Government in the Church, as a man, whose hot and hasty Spirit he had long known.

Though there were other Books written with good learning, and which sufficiently answered the Bishop's book, and to men of equal, and dispassionate Inclinations, fully vindicated the Proceedings which had been, and were still very fervently carried on; yet it was done by Men whose names were not much revered, and who were taken notice of, with great insolence and asperity to undertake the Defence of all things which the People generally were Displeased with, and who did not affect to be much Cared for, by those of their own Order. So that from this unhappy Subject, not in itself of that important value to be either entered upon with that Resolution, or to be carried on with that Passion, proceeded upon the matter a Schism amongst the Bishops themselves, and a great deal of Uncharitableness in the learned, and moderate Clergy, towards one another: which, though it could not increase the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the Enemies of the Church to do it

hurt, and also to the number of them. For without BOOK
doubt, many who loved the established Government I.
of the Church, and the Exercise of Religion as it
was used, and desired not a change in either, nor
did dislike the order and decency, which they saw
mended, yet they liked not any Novelties, and so
were liable to entertain Jealousies that more was
intended than was hitherto proposed; especially
when those Insufions proceeded from Men unsus-
pected to have any inclinations to Change, and
known Assertors of the Government both in Church
and State. They did observe the Inferior Clergy
took more upon them than they were wont, and
did not live towards their Neighbours of Quality, or
their Patrons themselves, with that Civility and
Condescension, they had used to do; which disposed
Them likewise to a withdrawing their good Counte-
enance, and good Neighbourhood from them.

The Arch-Bishop had not been long in that Post,
when there was another great alteration in the Court
by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, High Trea-
surer of *England*: a man so jealous of the Arch-
Bishop's credit with the King, that he always endea-
voured to lessen it by all the arts and ways he could;
which he was so far from effecting, that, as it usu-
ally falls out, when passion and malice make Accusa-
tion, by suggesting many Particulars which the King
knew to be Untrue, or believed to be no Faults,
he rather confirmed his Majesty's judgment of him,
and prejudiced his own reputation. His death caused
no grief in the Arch-Bishop; who was, upon it, Upon the
made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, Earl of
Portland's
death the

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Arch Bishop
made one of
the Commis-
sioners of the
Treasury.

and Revenue, which he had reason to be sorry for; because it engaged him in Civil business, and matters of State, wherein he had little experience, and which he had hitherto avoided. But being obliged to it now by his Trust, he entered upon it with his natural earnestness and warmth, making it his principal care to advance, and improve the King's Revenue, by all the ways which were offered, and so hearkened to all Informations and Propositions of that kind; and having not had experience of that Tribe of people, who deal in that Traffic (a confident, senseless, and for the most part a naughty people) he was sometimes misled by them, to think better of some Projects than they deserved: but then he was so entirely devoted to what would be Beneficial to the King, that all Propositions and Designs, which were for the Profit (only or principally) of particular Persons how Great soever, were opposed, and crossed, and very often totally suppressed, and stifled in their birth, by his Power, and Authority; which created him Enemies enough in the Court, and many of Ability to do Mischief, who knew well how to recompense Discourtesies, which they always called Injuries.

The Revenue of too Many of the Court consisted principally in Enclosures, and Improvements of that nature, which He still opposed passionately, except they were founded upon Law; and then, if it would bring Profit to the King, how old and obsolete soever the Law was, he thought he might justly advise the Prosecution. And so he did a little too much countenance the Commission concerning Depopula-

tion, which brought much charge and trouble upon the People . and was likewise cast upon His account. B O O K
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He had observed, and knew it must be so, that the Principal Officers of the Revenue, who governed the affairs of Money, had always access to the King, and spent more time with him in Private than any of his Servants, or Counsellors, and had thereby frequent opportunities to do Good, or ill offices to many men; of which He had had Experience, when the Earl of *Portland* was Treasurer, and the Lord *Cottington* Chancellor of the Exchequer; neither of them being his Friends; and the latter still enjoying his Place, and having his former Access, and so continuing a joint Commissioner of the Treasury with him, and understanding that Province much better, still Opposed, and commonly Carried every thing against him: so that he was Weary of the toil, and vexation of that Business; as all other men were, and still are, of the Delays which are in all despatches in that Office, whilst it is executed by Commission.

The Treasurer's is the greatest Office of Benefit in the Kingdom, and the Chief in Precedence next the Arch-Bishop's, and the Great Seal: so that the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great Office; and the greatest of the Nobility, who were in the chiefest Employments, looked upon it as the Prize of one of them; such Offices commonly making way for more Removes, and Preferments: when on a sudden the Staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of *London*, a man so unknown, that his Name was scarce heard of in the Kingdom, who

Bishop Juxon
made Lord
Treasurer.

B O O K I. had been, within two years before, but a private Chaplain to the King, and the President of a poor College in *Oxford*. This Inflamed more men than were Angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of Envy and Malice against the Arch-Bishop (who was the known Architect of this new Fabric) but most unjustly Indisposed many towards the Church itself; which they looked upon as the Gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices, there being Others in view, of that Robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest.

In the mean time the Arch-Bishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger Support for the Church; and never abated any thing of his Severity, and Rigor towards men of all conditions; or in the Sharpness of his language, and expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some Commotion, when the Argument was not of moment, nor bear Contradiction in debate, even in the Council, where all men are equally free, with that Patience, and Temper that was necessary; of which, They who wished him not well, took many Advantages, and would therefore Contradict him, that he might be transported with some Indecent Passion; which, upon a short recollection, he was always Sorry for, and most readily, and heartily would make Acknowledgement. No man so willingly made unkind use of all those Occasions, as the Lord *Cottington*, who, being a master of Temper, and of the most profound

Diffimulation, knew too well how to lead him B O O K
I. into a Mistake, and then drive him into Choler, and then Expose him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgment of the Company; and he chose to do this most, when the King was present; and then would Dine with him the next day.

The King, who was excessively affected to Hunting, and the Sports of the Field, had a great desire to make a great Park for Red, as well as Fallow Deer, between *Richmond* and *Hampton-Court*, where he had large Wastes of his own, and great parcels of Wood, which made it very fit for the use he designed it to: but as some Parishes had Commons in those Wastes, so, many Gentlemen, and Farmers, had good Houses, and good Farms intermingled with those Wastes of their own Inheritance, or for their Lives, or Years; and without taking of Them into the Park, it would not be of the largeness, or for the use proposed. His Majesty desired to purchase those Lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms than the People could sell them at to any body else, if they had occasion to part with them; and thought it no unreasonable thing, upon those terms, to expect this from his subjects; and so he employed his own Surveyor, and other of his Officers, to treat with the Owners, many whereof were his own Tenants, whose Farms would at last expire.

The major part of the People were in a short time prevailed with, but many very obstinately

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I. refused; and a Gentleman, who had the best Estate, with a convenient House, and Gardens, would by no means part with it; and the King being as earnest to compass it, it made a great noise, as if the King would take away men's Estates at his own pleasure. The Bishop of *London*, who was Treasurer, and the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were, from the first entering upon it, very averse from the Design, not only for the murmur of the People, but because the purchase of the Land, and the making a Brick-wall about so large a parcel of Ground (for it is near ten Miles about) would cost a greater Sum of money, than they could easily provide, or than they thought ought to be sacrificed to Such an occasion: and the Lord *Cottington* (who was more solicited by the Country-people, and heard most of their murmurs) took the Business most to heart, and endeavoured by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his Majesty from pursuing it, and put all delays, he could well do, in the bargains which were to be made; till the King grew very angry with him, and told him "he was resolved to go through with it, and had already caused Brick to be burned, and much of the Wall to be built upon his Own land:" upon which *Cottington* thought fit to acquiesce.

The building the Wall before People consented to part with their Land, or their Common, looked to them as if by degrees they should be Shut out from both, and increased the murmur and noise

of the People who were Not concerned, as well as of them who were: and it was too near *London* not to be the common discourse. The Arch-Bishop (who desired exceedingly that the King should be possessed as much of the Hearts of the People as was possible, at least that they should have no just cause to Complain) meeting with it, resolved to Speak with the King of it; which he did; and received such an Answer from him, that he thought his Majesty rather not informed enough of the Inconveniencies, and Mischiefs of the thing, than positively Resolved not to desist from it. Whereupon one day he took the Lord *Cottington* aside (being informed that he disliked it, and, according to his natural custom, spake with great warmth against it) and told him, "he should do very well to give the King good Counsel, and to withdraw him from a Resolution, in which his Honor, and Justice was so much called in question." *Cottington* answered him very gravely, "that the thing designed was very Lawful, and he thought the King resolved very well, since the Place lay so conveniently for his Winter-exercise, and that he should by it not be compelled to make so long Journeys, as he used to do, in that Season of the year, for his Sport, and that no body ought to dissuade him from it."

The Arch-Bishop instead of finding a Concurrence from him, as he expected, seeing himself Reproached upon the matter for his Opinion, grew into much Passion, telling him, "Such men

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“ as he, would Ruin the King; and make him
“ lose the Affections of his Subjects; that for his own
“ part, as he had begun, so he would go on to
“ dissuade the King from proceeding in so ill a
“ counsel, and that he hoped it would appear
“ who had been his Counsellor.” *Cottington* glad
to see him so soon hot, and resolved to inflame
him more, very calmly replied to him, “ that he
“ thought a man could not, with a good Con-
“ science, hinder the King from pursuing his Re-
“ solutions, and that it could not but proceed
“ from want of affection to his Person, and he
“ was not sure that it might not be high Treason.”
The other, upon the wildness of his discourse, in
great anger asked him, “ Why? from whence he
“ had received that doctrine?” he said, with the
same temper, “ They who did not wish the King’s
“ health, could not love him; and they who went
“ about to hinder his taking recreation, which
“ preserved his health, might be thought, for
“ ought he knew, guilty of the highest Crimes.”
Upon which the Arch-Bishop in great rage, and
with many reproaches left him, and either presently,
or upon the next opportunity, told the King,
“ that he now knew who was his great Counsellor
“ for making his Park, and that he did not
“ wonder that men durst not represent any Argu-
“ ments to the contrary, or let his Majesty know
“ how much he Suffered in it, when such Prin-
“ ciples in Divinity, and Law, were laid down
“ to Terrify them;” and so recounted to him the

Conference he had with the Lord *Cottington*, B O O K
bitterly inveighing against him, and his Doctrine, I.
mentioning him with all the sharp Reproaches
imaginable, and beseeching his Majesty "that His
" counsel might not Prevail with him," taking
some pains to make his Conclusions appear very
false, and Ridiculous.

The King said no more, but, " My Lord, you
" are deceived, *Cottington* is too hard for you;
" upon my word he hath not only Dissuaded me
" more, and given more Reasons against this
" Business, than all the men in *England* have done,
" but hath really obstructed the Work by not
" doing his Duty, as I commanded him, for which
" I have been very much displeased with him :
" you see how Unjustly your Passion hath trans-
" ported you." By which Reprehension he found
how much he had been Abused, and Repented it
accordingly.

Whatsoever was the Cause of it, this excellent
Man, who stood not upon the advantage-ground
before, from the time of his Promotion to the
Arch-Bishopric, or rather from that of his being
Commissioner of the Treasury, exceedingly provoked,
or underwent the Envy, and Reproach,
and Malice of Men of all Qualities, and Conditions;
who agreed in nothing else: all which,
though well enough Known to him, were not
enough Considered by him, who believed, as most
men did, the Government to be so firmly Settled,
that it could neither be Shaken from within, nor

- B O O K** without, and that less than a general Confusion of Law and Gospel, could not hurt him; which was true too; but he did not Foresee how easily that Confusion might be brought to pass, as it proved shortly to be. And with this general Observation of the outward visible Prosperity, and the inward reserved disposition of the People to Murmur, and Unquietness, we Conclude this First Book.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K II.

Pfal. LII. 2. 4.

*Thy Tongue deviseth Mischief, like a sharp Razor,
working deceitfully:
Thou lovest all devouring words, O thou deceitful
Tongue.*

Pfal. LV. 21.

*The words of his Mouth were smoother than Butter;
but War was in his Heart: his words were softer
than Oil, yet were they drawn Swords.*

IT was towards the end of the Year 1633, when the King returned from *Scotland*, having left it to the Care of some of the Bishops there to provide such a Liturgy, and such a Book of Canons, as might best suit the nature and humor of the Better sort of that People; to which the rest would easily submit: and that, as fast as they made them ready, they should transmit them to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, to whose assistance the King joined the Bishop of *London*, and Doctor *Wren*, who, by that time,

BOOK II.
Affairs in Scotland after the King's return thence; relating chiefly to the composing a Liturgy and Canons.

VOL. I. N

B O O K was become Bishop of *Norwich*; a Man of a severe, four nature, but very Learned, and particularly versed in the old Liturgies of the *Greek*. and *Latin* Churches. And after his Majesty should be this way certified of what was so sent, he would recommend, and enjoin the Practice and Use of both to that his Native Kingdom, The Bishops there had somewhat to do, before they went about the preparing the Canons, and the Liturgy; what had passed at the King's being there in Parliament, had left bitter Inclinations, and unruly Spirits in many of the most Popular Nobility; who watched only for an opportunity to inflame the People, and were well enough contented to see Combustible matter every day gathered together, to contribute to that Fire.

The promoting so many Bishops to be of the Privy - Council, and to sit in the Courts of Justice, seemed at first wonderfully to facilitate all that was in design, and to create an Affection and Reverence towards the Church, at least an application to and dependance upon the greatest Churchmen. So that there seemed to be not only a good preparation made with the People, but a general expectation, and even a desire that they might have a Liturgy, and more Decency observed in the Church. And this Temper was believed to be the more universal, because neither from any of the Nobility, nor of the Clergy, who were thought most averse from it, there appeared any sign of Contradiction, nor that licence of Language against it, as was natural to that Nation; but an entire Acquiescence in all the Bishops thought fit to do; which was interpreted to proceed

from a conversion in their Judgment, at least to a submission to Authority: whereas in truth, it appeared afterwards to be from the observation they made of the Temper, and Indiscretion of those Bishops in the greatest Authority, that they were like to have more Advantages administered to them by Their ill Managery, than they could raise by any Contrivance of their own.

It was now two Years, or very near so much, before the Bishops in *Scotland* had prepared any thing to offer to the King towards their intended Reformation; and then they Inverted the proper method, and first presented a body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which was not yet ready, they chusing to finish the shorter work first. The King referred the consideration of the Canons, as he had before resolved to do, to the Arch Bishop, and the other two Bishops formerly named, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*; who, after their perusal of them, and some Alterations made with the consent of those Bishops who brought them from *Scotland*, returned them to the King; and his Majesty, impatient to see the good work entered upon, without any other Ceremony (after having given his Royal approbation) issued out his Proclamation for the due Observation of them within his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

It was a fatal Inadvertency that these Canons, neither before, nor after they were sent to the King, had been ever Seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the Observation of them; nor so much as

BOOK II. Communicated to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom; it being almost impossible that any new Discipline could be introduced into the Church, which would not Much concern the Government of the State, and even trench upon, or refer to the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom. And, in this consideration, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had always declared to the Bishops of *Scotland*, "that it
 " was Their part to be sure, that nothing they
 " should propose to the King in the Business of the
 " Church, should be contrary to the Laws of the
 " Land, which He could not be thought to under-
 " stand; and that they should never put any thing
 " in execution, without the consent and approba-
 " tion of the Privy-Council." But it was the unhappy Craft of those Bishops to get it believed by the King, that the work would be Grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People (which they could hardly believe) in order to the obtaining his Majesty's Approbation and Authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe would not find Opposition from the Nobility, Clergy, or People, against his Majesty's express Power, and Will, which without doubt was then in great Veneration in that Kingdom; and so they did not, in truth, dare to submit the Canons to any other Examination, than what the King should direct in *England*.

It was, in the next place, as strange, that Canons should be published before the Liturgy was prepared (which was not ready in a year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were principally

for the Observation of, and punctual Compliance with the Liturgy; which all the Clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoined by it, before they knew what it contained. Whereas if the Liturgy had been first published with all due Circumstances, it is possible that it might have found a better reception, and the Canons have been less examined. B O O K II.

The *Scottish* Nation, how capable soever it was of being led by some Great Men, and misled by the Clergy; would have been corrupted by neither into a barefaced Rebellion against their King, whose Person they loved, and revered his Government; nor could they have been wrought upon towards the lessening the one, or the other, by any other Suggestions, or Infusions, than such as should make them jealous, or apprehensive of a design to introduce Popery; a great part of their Religion consisting in an entire detestation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be Antichrist, and hating perfectly the Persons of all Papists.

The Canons now published, besides (as hath been touched before) that they had passed no Approbation of the Clergy, or been Communicated to the Council, appeared to be so many new Laws imposed upon the whole Kingdom by the King's sole Authority, and contrived by a few Private Men, of whom they had no good opinion, and who were Strangers to the Nation; so that it was thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were most jealous, and which they most passionately abhorred. Then

B O O K they were so far from being confined to the Church ;
 11. and the matters of Religion , that they believed there was no part of their Civil Government uninvaded by them , and no Persons of what Quality soever unconcerned , and , as they thought , unhurt in them. And there were some things in some particular Canons , how rational soever in themselves , and how distant soever in the words and expressions from inclining to Popery , which yet gave too much advantage to Those who maliciously watched the occasion , to persuade Weak Men that it was an Approach , and Introduction to that Religion , the very Imagination whereof Intoxicated all Men , and deprived them of all faculties to Examine , and Judge.

Some of the said Canons defined , and determined such an unlimited " Power , and Prerogative to be " in the King , according to the Pattern (in express " terms) of the Kings of *Israel* , and such a full " Supremacy in all Cases Ecclesiastical , as hath never " been pretended to by their former Kings , or submitted to by the Clergy , and Laity of that Nation ; " which made impression upon Men of all tempers , humors , and inclinations ; " And that no Ecclesiastical Person should become Surety , or Bound for " any Man ; that National , or General Assemblies " should be called only by the King's Authority ; " that all Bishops , and other Ecclesiastical Persons , " who die without Children , should be obliged to " give a good part of their Estates to the Church , " and , though they should have Children , yet to " leave somewhat to the Church , and for advance-

“ment of Learning;” which seemed rather to be a matter of State, and Policy, than of Religion; thwarted their Laws and Customs, which had been observed by them; lessened, if not took away the Credit of Church-men; and prohibited them from that liberty of Commerce in Civil Affairs, which the Laws permitted to them; and reflected upon the interests of Those who had, or might have a right to Inherit from Clergy-men. “That none should receive the Sacrament but upon their Knees; that the Clergy should have no private meetings for expounding Scripture, or for consulting upon Matters Ecclesiastical; that no Man should cover his head in the time of Divine Service; and that no Clergy-man should conceive Prayers *ex tempore*, but be bound to pray only by the Form prescribed in the Liturgy” (which by the way was not seen nor framed) “and that no man should teach a public School, or in a private House, without a Licence first obtained from the Archbishop of the Province, or the Bishop of the Diocese.”

All these were new, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they might be fit to be commended to a regular, and orderly People piously disposed, yet it was too strong meat for Infants in Discipline, and too much nourishment to be administered at Once to weak, and queasy Stomachs, and too much inclined to nauseate what was most wholesome. But then, to apply the old terms of the Church, to mention “the *Quatuor tempora*,” and restrain all Ordinations to those four Seasons of

B O O K

II.

“ the Year; to enjoin a Font to be prepared in
 “ every Church for Baptism, and a decent Table for
 “ the Communion; and to direct, and appoint the
 “ places where both Font and Table should stand,
 “ and decent Ornaments for either; to restrain any
 “ Excommunication from being pronounced, or
 “ Absolution from being given, without the ap-
 “ probation of the Bishop;” to mention any prac-
 “ tice of Confession (which they looked upon
 “ as the strongest, and most inseparable Limb of
 “ Antichrist) and to enjoin “ that no Presbyter should
 “ reveal any thing he should receive in Confes-
 “ sion, except in such cases, where, by the Law
 “ of the Land, his own Life, should be Forfeited;”
 “ were all such matters of Innovation, and in their
 “ nature so Suspicious, that they thought they had
 “ reason to be Jealous of the worst that could fol-
 “ low; and the last Canon of all provided “ that no
 “ Person should be received into Holy Orders, or
 “ suffered to Preach, or Administer the Sacraments,
 “ without first Subscribing to those Canons.”

It was now easy for Them who had those Inclina-
 tions, to suggest to Men of all conditions that here
 was an entire new Model of Government in Church
 and State; the King might do what he would upon
 them all, and the Church was nothing but what the
 Bishops would have it be: which they every day
 infused into the minds of the People, with all the
 Artifices which administer Jealousies of all kinds to
 those who are liable to be disquieted with them:
 yet they would not suffer (which showed wonderful
 power, and wonderful dexterity) any disorder to

break out upon all this occasion, but all was quiet, except spreading of Libels against the Bishops, and propagating that Spirit as much as they could, by their Correspondence in *England*; where they found too many every day transported by the same Insults, in expectation that these Seeds of Jealousy from the Canons, would grow apace, and produce such a Reception for the Liturgy as they wished for.

It was about the month of *July* in the Year 1637, that the Liturgy (after it had been sent out of *Scotland*, and perused by the three Bishops in *England*, and then approved and confirmed by the King) was Published, and appointed to be Read in all the Churches. And in this particular there was the same affected and premeditated Omission, as had been in the preparation and publication of the Canons; the Clergy not at all consulted in it, and, which was more strange, not all the Bishops acquainted with it; which was less censured afterwards, when some of them renounced their Function, and became ordinary Presbyters, as soon as they saw the current of the time. The Privy-Council had no other notice of it, than all the Kingdom had, the Sunday before, when it was declared, "that the next Sunday the Liturgy should be Read;" by which they were the less concerned to foresee, or prevent any Obstructions which might happen.

The Proclamation had appointed it to be Read the *Easter* before, but the Earl of *Traquair* High Treasurer of *Scotland* (who was the only Counsellor or Layman relied upon by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in that business) persuaded the King to defer

B O O K
II.

Touching the
Scottish Li-
turgy.

B O O K it till *July*, that some good preparation might be made for the more cheerful Reception of it. And as
II. this pause gave the discontented Party more heart, and more time for their Seditious Negotiations, so the ill Consequences of it, or the Actions which were subsequent to it, made Him suspected to be Privy to all the Conspiracy, and to be an Enemy to the Church; though in truth there neither appeared then, nor in all the very unfortunate part of his life afterwards, any just ground for that accusation, and suspicion; but as he was exceedingly obliged to the Arch-Bishop, so he was a man of great Parts, and well affected to the Work in hand in his own judgement; and if he had been as much depended upon, to have advised the Bishops in the Prosecution, and for the Conduct of it, as he was to assist them in the carrying on whatsoever They proposed, it is very probable, that either so Much would not have been undertaken together, or that it would have Succeeded better; for he was without doubt not inferior to any of that Nation in Wisdom, and Dexterity. And though he was often provoked, by the Insolence of some of the Bishops, to a Dislike of their overmuch Fervor, and too little Discretion, his Integrity to the King was without blemish, and his Affection to the Church so notorious, that he never deserted it, till both It and He were over-run, and trod under foot; and they who were the most notorious Persecutors of It, never left Persecuting Him to the death:

Nor was any thing done which he had proposed, for the better Adjusting things in the time of that

Suspension, but every thing left in the same state of Unconcernedness as it was before; not so much as the Council's being better Informed of it; as if they had been sure that all men would have Submitted to it for Conscience sake.

On the Sunday morning appointed for the work, the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and others of the Council, being present in the Cathedral Church, the Dean began to read the Liturgy, which he had no sooner entered upon, but a noise and a clamor was raised throughout the Church, that no words could be heard distinctly, and then a shower of Stones, and Sticks, and Cudgels were thrown at the Dean's head. The Bishop went up into the Pulpit, and from thence put them in mind of the Sacredness of the Place, of their Duty to God and the King; but he found no more Reverence, nor was the clamor and disorder less than before. The Chancellor, from his Seat, commanded the Provost and Magistrates of the City to descend from the Gallery in which they sat, and by their Authority to Suppress the Riot; which at last with great Difficulty they did, by driving the Rudest of those who made the disturbance out of the Church, and shutting the Doors, which gave the Dean opportunity to proceed in the reading of the Liturgy, that was not at all attended or hearkened to by those who remained within the Church; and if it had, they who were turned out continued their barbarous Noise, broke the Windows, and endeavoured to break down the Doors; so that it was not possible for any to follow their Devotions.

The manner
how that Li-
turgy was re-
ceived at
Edinborough.

B O O K When all was done that at that time could be done
II. there, and the Concil and Magistrates went out of the Church to their Houses, the Rabble followed the Bishops with all the opprobrious language they could invent, of bringing in Superstition and Popery into the Kingdom, and making the People Slaves; and were not content to use their Tongues, but employed their Hands too in throwing Dirt and Stones at them; and treated the Bishop of *Edinburgh*, whom they looked upon as most Active that way, so Rudely; that with difficulty he got into a House, after they had torn his Habit, and was from thence removed to his own, with great hazard of his Life. As this was the Reception it had in the Cathedral, so it fared not better in the other Churches of the City, but was entertained with the same Hollowing and Outcries; and threatening the Men whose office it was to read it, with the same bitter Execrations against Bishops and Popery.

Hitherto no person of Condition or Name appeared, or seemed to countenance this seditious Confusion; it was the Rabble, of which no body was named, and which is more strange, not one apprehended: and it seems the Bishops thought it not of Moment enough to desire, or require any Help, or Protection from the Council) but without conferring with them; or applying themselves to them, they despatched away an Express to the King, with a full and particular Information of all that had passed, and a desire that He would take that course he thought best for the carrying on his Service.

Until this Advertisement arrived from *Scotland*,

there were very few in *England* who had heard of any Disorders there, or of any thing done there which might produce any. The King himself had been always so jealous of the Privileges of that his Native Kingdom (as hath been touched before) and that it might not be dishonored by a suspicion of having any Dependance upon *England*, that he never suffered any thing relating to That to be Debated, or so much as Communicated to his Privy Council in this (though many of that Nation were, without distinction, Counsellors of *England*) but handled all those affairs Himself with two or three *Scots*-men, who always attended in the Court for the business of that Kingdom, which was upon the matter still despatched by the sole advice and direction of the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

And the truth is, there was so little curiosity either in the Court, or the Country, to know any thing of *Scotland*, or what was done there, that when the whole Nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in *Germany*, and *Poland*, and all other parts of *Europe*, no man ever inquired what was doing in *Scotland*, nor had that Kingdom a place or mention in one Page of any Gazette; and ever after the Advertisement of this preamble to Rebellion, no mention was made of it at the Council-Board, but such a Despatch made into *Scotland* upon it, as expressed the King's dislike and displeasure, and obliged the Lords of the Council there to appear more vigorously in the Vindication of his Authority, and Suppression of those Tumults. But all was too little. That People after they had once begun, pursued the busi-

B O O K 11. nefs vigorously, and with all imaginable Contempt of the Government; and though in the Hubbub of the first day there appeared no body of name or reckoning, but the Actors were really of the Dregs of the people, yet they discovered by the countenance of that day, that few men of Rank were forward to engage themselves in the quarrel on the behalf of the Bishops; whereupon more considerable Persons every day appeared against them, and (as heretofore in the case of *St. Paul*, *Acts 13. 50. the Jews stirred up the devout and honorable Women*) the Women and Ladies of the best Quality declared themselves of the Party, and, with all the reproaches imaginable, made war upon the Bishops, as introducers of Popery and Superstition, against which they avowed themselves to be irreconcilable Enemies; and their Husbands did not long defer the owning the same Spirit; insomuch as within few days the Bishops durst not appear in the Streets, nor in any Courts, or Houses, but were in danger of their Lives; and such of the Lords as durst be in their company, or seemed to desire to rescue them from violence, had their Coaches torn in pieces, and their Persons assaulted, insomuch as they were glad to send for some of those great Men, who did indeed govern the Rabble, though they appeared not in it, who readily came and redeemed them out of their hands: so that by the time new Orders came from *England*, there was scarce a Bishop left in *Edinburgh*, and not a Minister who durst read the Liturgy in any Church.

All the Kingdom flocked to *Edinburgh*, as in a general cause that concerned their Salvation, and

resolved themselves into a Method of Government, erected several Tables, in which Deputies sat for the Nobility, the Gentlemen, the Clergy, and the Burgeses; out of either of which Tables a Council was elected to conduct their affairs, and a Petition drawn up in the names of the Nobility, Lairds, Clergy, and Burgeses, to the King, complaining of the introduction of Popery, and many other Grievances. And if the Lords of the Council issued out any Order against them, or if the King himself sent a Proclamation for their repair to their Houses, and for the preservation of the Peace, presently some Nobleman deputed by the Tables published a Protestation against those Orders and Proclamations, with the same confidence, and with as much formality, as if the Government were regularly in Their hands.

They called a General Assembly, whither they summoned the Bishops to appear before them, and for not appearing. Excommunicated them; and then they united themselves by Subscribing a Covenant, which they pretended, with their usual confidence, to be no other than had been Subscribed in the Reign of King *James*, and that his Majesty himself had Subscribed it; by which Imposition people of all degrees, supposing it might be a means to Extinguish the present Fire, with all alacrity engaged themselves in it; whereas in truth, they had inserted a Clause never heard of, and quite contrary to the End of that Covenant, whereby they obliged themselves to pursue the Extirpation of Bishops, and had the confidence to demand the same in exprefs terms

B O O K
II.

The Scottish
Covenant.

B O O K of the King, in answer to a very gracious Message
 II. the King had sent to them. They published bitter
 Invectives against the Bishops, and the whole Go-
 vernment of the Church, which they were not con-
 tented to send only into *England* to kindle the same
 Fire there, but, with their Letters, sent them to all
 the Reformed Churches, by which they raised so
 great a Prejudice to the King, that too many of
 them believed, that the King had a real design to
 change Religion, and introduce Popery.

It is very true, there were very many of the
 Nobility, and Persons of principal Quality of that
 Nation, and in *Edinburgh* at that time, who did
 not appear yet, and concur in this Seditious beha-
 viour, or own their being yet of their Party, but
 on the contrary seemed very much to dislike their
 proceedings: but it is as true, that very few had
 the courage to do any thing in Opposition to them,
 or to concur in the Prosecution of any Regal Act
 against them; which did in some respects more ad-
 vance their Designs, than if they had manifestly
 joined with them. For these Men, many of whom
 were of the Council, by all their Letters into *England*,
 exceedingly undervalued the Disorder, as being
 “ very easy to be Suppressed in a short time, when
 “ the People’s eyes should be opened; and that the
 “ removing the Courts to some other place, and a
 “ gracious condescension in the King, in offering
 “ Pardon for what was past, would suddenly Sub-
 “ due them, and every body would return to his
 “ Duty:” and the City of *Edinburgh* itself writ
 an humble Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,
 excusing

excusing the Disorders which had been raised by the Ignorance and Rudeness of the meanest of the People, and beseeching him " to intercede with his Majesty for the suspension of his Prejudice to them, till they should manifest their Duty to him, " by inflicting exemplary Punishment upon the " chief Offenders, and causing the Liturgy to be " received, and submitted to in all their Churches; " which they professed they would in a short time bring to pass. So that by this means, and the Interposition of all those of that Nation who attended upon his Majesty in his Bed - Chamber, and in several Offices at Court, who all undertook to know by their Intelligences that all was quiet, or would speedily be so; his Majesty (who well knew that they who appeared most active in this Confederacy were much inferior to Those who did not appear, and who professed great Zeal for his Service) hardly prevailed with himself to believe that he would receive any Disturbance from thence, till he found all his Condescensions had raised their Insolence, all his Offers rejected, and his Proclamation of Pardon slighted and contemned; and that they were lifting men towards the raising an Army, under the obligation of their Covenant, and had already chosen Colonel *Lefly*, a Soldier of that Nation of long Experience and eminent Command under the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, to be their General; who being lately Disobliged (as they called it) by the King, that is, denied somewhat he had a mind to have, had accepted of the Command. Then at last the King thought it time to resort to other Coun-

B O O K fells, and to provide Force to Chastise them, who
II, had so much despised all his gentler Remedies.

He could now no longer defer the acquainting the Council-Board, and the whole Kingdom of *England*, with the Indignities he had sustained in *Scotland*; which he did by Proclamations, and Declarations at large, setting out the whole Proceedings which had been; and in the end of the Year 1638 declared his Resolution to raise an Army to Suppress their Rebellion, for which he gave present order.

And this was the first Alarm *England* received towards any Trouble, after it had enjoyed for so many Years the most uninterrupted Prosperity, in a full and plentiful Peace, that any Nation could be blessed with: and as there was no apprehension of trouble from Within, so it was secured from Without, by a stronger Fleet at Sea than the Nation had ever been acquainted with, which drew reverence from all the neighbour Princes. The Revenue had been so well improved, and so warily managed, that there was Money in the Exchequer proportionable for the undertaking any noble Enterprize: nor did this first noise of War, and approach towards Action, seem to make any impression upon the Minds of men, the *Scots* being in no degree either Loved or Feared by the People; and most men hoped, that this would free the Court from being henceforth troubled with Those men; and so they seemed to embrace the Occasion with notable alacrity: and there is no doubt, but if all of that Nation who were united in the Rebellion (some

of which staid yet in the Court) had marched in their Army, and publicly Owned the Covenant, which in their Hearts they adored, neither the King, nor the Kingdom, could have sustained any great Damage by them; but the monument of their Presumption and their Shame would have been raised together, and no other memory preserved of their Rebellion but in their memorable Overthrow.

God Almighty would not suffer this discerning Spirit of Wisdom to govern at this time: the King thought it unjust to condemn a Nation for the transgression of a part of it, and still hoped to redeem it from the infamy of a General Defection, by the exemplary Fidelity of a Superior Party, and therefore withdrew not his Confidence from any of Those who attended his Person, who, in truth, lay Leiger for the Covenant, and kept up the spirits of their Countrymen by Their intelligence.

The King hastened the Raising an Army, which was not long in doing. He chose to make the Earl of *Arundel* his General, a Man who was thought to be made choice of for his Negative Qualities: He did Not love the *Scots*; he did Not love the Puritans; which Qualifications were allayed by another Negative, he did Not much love Any body else: but he was fit to keep the State of it; and his Rank was such, that no man would decline the Serving under him.

The Earl of *Essex* was made Lieutenant-General of the Army, the most Popular man of the Kingdom, and the Darling of the Sword-men; who, between a hatred and a contempt of the *Scots*, had

BOOK
II.

The King
raises an Ar-
my against
the Scots:

B O O K nothing like an affection for any man of that Nation ;
II. and therefore was so well pleased with his Promotion , that he begun to love the King the better for conferring it upon him , and entered upon the province with great Fidelity and Alacrity , and was capable from that hour of any Impression the King would have fixed upon him.

The Earl of *Holland* was General of the Horse ; who , besides the Obligations he had to the Queen (who vouchsafed to own a particular trust in him) was not then liable to the least Suspicion of want of affection , and zeal for the King's Service.

In the beginning of the Spring , which was in the Year 1639 , an Army was drawn together of near six thousand Horse , and about that number in Foot , all very well disciplined Men , under as good and experienced Officers , as were to be found at that time in *Christendom*. With this Army abundantly supplied with a Train of Artillery , and all other Provisions necessary , the King advanced in the beginning of the Summer towards the Borders of *Scotland*.

and a Fleet.

This was not all the Strength that was provided for the Suppressing that Rebellion , but the King had likewise provided a good Fleet , and had caused a body of three thousand Foot to be embarked on those Ships ; all which were put under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton* , who was to infest the Country by Sea to hinder their Trade , and to make a descent upon the Land , and join with such Forces as the Loyal Party of that Nation should draw together to assist the King's , which his Own interest

(as was believed), would give great life to, his BOOK
 Family being numerous in the Nobility, and united II.
 in an entire Dependence upon him.

Upon the first March of the Army Northwards, The Earl of
 the Earl of *Essex* was sent with a party of Horse and Essex posses-
 Foot, to use all possible expedition to possess himself s of Berwick.
 of *Berwick*, which the King had been advertised
 the *Scots* would speedily be Masters of. The Earl
 lost no time, but marched day and night with
 great order and diligence; and every day met several
Scots-men of Quality well known to him, and sent
 Expressly to the King, who all severally made him
 very particular relations of the Strength of the *Scots*
 Army, the excellent Discipline that was observed
 in it, and the goodness of the Men, and that they
 were by that time possessed of *Berwick*; and when
 he was within one day's March of it, a Person of prin-
 cipal Condition, of very near relation to the King's
 Service, (who pretended to be sent upon matter of
 high Importance to his Majesty from Those who
 most intended his Service there) met him, and advi-
 sed him very earnestly "not to advance farther
 "with his Party, which, he said, "was so much
 "inferior in number to those of the Enemy, that
 "it would infallibly be cut off: that himself over-
 "took the day before a strong Party of the Army,
 "consisting of three thousand Horse and Foot with
 "a Train of Artillery, all which he left at such a
 "Place (which he named) "within three hours
 "March of *Berwick*, where they resolved to be the
 "Night before, so that his proceeding farther must
 "be Fruitless, and expose him to inevitable Ruin."

BOOK II. These Advertisements wrought no otherwise upon the Earl, than to hasten his Marches, insomuch that he came to *Berwick* sooner than he proposed to have done, entered the Place without the least Opposition, and by all the Inquiry he could make by sending out Parties, and other Advertisements, he could not discover that any of the Enemies Forces had been drawn that way, nor indeed that they had any considerable Forces together nearer than *Edinburgh*.

The Earl being thus possessed of his Post, lost no time in advertising the King of it, and sent him a very particular account of the Informations he had received from so many Ear and Eye witnesses, who were all at that time in the Court, and very fit to be Suspected after the publishing of so many Falshoods; and these very Men had been constant in the same Reports, and as confident in reporting the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* and cutting off his Party, as they had been to Himself of the *Scots* March, and their being Masters of *Berwick*. The Joy was not concealed with which his Majesty received the News of the Earl's being in *Berwick*, the Contrary whereof those Men made him apprehend with much Perplexity; but they underwent no other reproach for their Intelligence, than that their Fears had multiplied their Sight, and that they had been Frighted with other men's Relations; which Remissness, to call it no worse, was an ill Omen of the Discipline that was like to be observed.

If the War had been now vigorously pursued, it had been as soon ended as begun; for at this time

they had not drawn three thousand Men together in the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor had in truth Arms complete for such a number, though They had the possession of all the King's Forts and Magazines there, nor had they Ammunition to supply their few Fire Arms; Horses they had, and Officers they had, which made all their Show. But it was the fatal Misfortune of the King, which proceeded from the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tendernefs of Blood, that he Deferred so long his Resolution of Using his Arms; and after he had taken that Resolution, that it was not Prosecuted with more Vigor.

He more intended the Pomp of his Preparations than the Strength of them, and did still believe that the one would save the labor of the other. At the same time that he resolved to raise an Army, he caused inquiry to be made, what Obligations lay upon his subjects to assist him, both as he went himself in Person, and as it was an expedition against the *Scots*; which, in the ancient Enmity between the two Nations, had been provided for by some Laws; and in the Tenure which many Men held their Estates by, he found that the Kings had usually, when they went to make War in their own Persons, called as many of the Nobility to attend upon them as they thought fit.

Thereupon he Summoned most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, without any consideration of their Affections how they stood disposed to that Service, to Attend upon him by a day appointed, and throughout that Expedition; presuming that the glory of

The King summons the English Nobility to attend him.

such a visible appearance of the whole Nobility, would look like such an Union in the Quarrel, as would at once Terrify and Reduce the *Scots*; not considering that such kinds of Uniting do often produce the greatest Confusions, when more and greater Men are called together than can be united in Affections and Interests; and in the necessary Differences which arise from thence, they quickly come to know each other so well; as they rather break into several Divisions, than Join in any one Public interest; and from hence have always risen the most dangerous Factions, which have threatened and ruined the Peace of Nations: and it fell out no better here. If there had been none in the March but Soldiers, it is most probable that a noble Peace would have quickly ensued, even without Fighting; but the Progress was more illustrious than the March, and the Soldiers were the least part of the Army, and least consulted with.

In this Pomp the King continued his journey to *York*, where he had a full Court, those Noblemen of the Northern Parts, and many others who overtook not the King till then, joining all in that City; where his Majesty found it necessary to stay some days; and there the Fruit, that was to be gathered from such a Conflux, quickly Budded out. Some Rules were to be set down for the Government of the Army; the Court was too Numerous to be wholly left to its own Licence; and the multitude of the *Scots* in it, administered matter of Offence and Jealousy to People of all conditions, who had too much cause to fear that the King was every day Betrayed; the

common Discourse by all the *Scots* being either to magnify the Good Intentions of their Country-men, and that they had all Duty for the King, or to undervalue the Power and Interest of Those who discovered themselves against the Church. BOOK
II.

It was therefore thought fit by the whole body of the Council, that a short Protestation should be drawn, in which all Men should "profess their Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty, and disclaim and renounce the having any Intelligence, or holding any Correspondence with the Rebels." No man imagined it possible that any of the *English* would refuse to make that Protestation; and they who thought worst of the *Scots*, did not think they would make any Scruple of doing the same, and consequently that there would be no Fruit, or Discovery from that Test; but they were deceived: the *Scots* indeed took it to a Man, without grieving their Conscience, or reforming their Manners. But amongst the *English* Nobility the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook* (two Popular men, and most Undevoted to the Church, and, in truth, to the whole Government) positively refused in the King's own Presence to make any such Protestation. They said, "If the King suspected their Loyalty he might proceed against them as he thought fit; but that it was against the Law to impose any Oaths or Protestations upon them which were not Enjoined by the Law; and, in that respect, that they might not Betray the common Liberty, they would not Submit to it." This administered matter of new Dispute in a very unseasonable time; and though

B O O K there did not then appear More of the same mind, and they two were Committed, at least Restrained of their liberty, yet this discovered too much of the Humor and Spirit of the Court in their daily discourses upon that Subject; so that the King thought it best to dismiss those two Lords, and require them to return to their Houses: and if all the rest who were not Officers of the Army, or of absolute Necessity about the King's person, had been likewise Dismissed and sent home, the Business had been better Prosecuted.

Indeed if the King himself had stayed at *London*, or, which had been the next best, kept his Court and resided at *York*, and sent the Army on their proper Errand, and left the matter of the War wholly to Them, in all human reason his Enemies had been speedily Subdued, and that Kingdom reduced to their Obedience.

Before the King left *York*, Letters and Addresses were sent from the *Scots*, "Lamenting their ill Fortune, that their Enemies had so great credit with the King, as to persuade him to believe that they were or could be Disobedient to him, a thing that could never enter into their Loyal hearts; that they desired nothing but to be admitted into the Presence of their gracious Sovereign, to lay their Grievances at his Royal Feet, and leave the Determination of them entirely to his own Wisdom and Pleasure." And though the humility of the Style gained them many Friends, who thought it great pity, that any Blood should be spilt in a Contention which his Majesty might put an end

to by his own Word as soon as he would hear their Complaints, yet hitherto the King preserved himself from being Wrought upon, and Marched with convenient expedition to the very Borders of *Scotland*, and Encamped with his Army in an open Field called *the Berkes*, on the further side of *Berwick*, and lodged in his Tent with the Army; though every day's March wrought very much upon the Constitution if not the Courage of the Court, and too many wished aloud, "that the Business were brought to a fair Treaty."

B O O K

II.

The King goes
to the Borders
of Scotland
with his Army

Upon advertisement that a Party of the *Scots* Army was upon the March, the Earl of *Holland* was sent with a Body of three thousand Horse, and two thousand Foot, with a fit Train of Artillery, to meet it, and Engage with it; who Marched accordingly into *Scotland* early in a Morning as far as a Place called *Dunce*, ten or twelve Miles into that Kingdom. It was in the beginning of *August*, when the Nights are very short, and, as soon as the Sun rises, the Days for the most part hotter than is reasonably expected from the Climate; and by the testimony of all men that day was the hottest that had been known. When the Earl came with his Horse to *Dunce*, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the side of a Hill, where the Front could only be in view, and where, he was informed, the General *Lesly* and the whole Army was; and it was very true, they were all there indeed; but it was as true, that all did not exceed the number of three thousand Men, very ill Armed, and most Country-Fellows, who were on the sudden got together to make that Show;

Sends the Earl
of Holland as
far as Dunce.

B O O K and *Lesly* had placed them by the advantage of that Hill so speciously, that they had the appearance of a good Body of Men, there being all the semblance of great Bodies behind on the other side of the Hill; the falshood of which would have been manifest as soon as they should move from the place where they were, and from whence they were therefore not to stir.

The Horse had out marched the Foot, which, by reason of the excessive Heat, was not able to use great expedition: besides there was some error in the Orders, and some accidents of the Night that had retarded them; so that when the enemy appeared first in view, the Foot and the Artillery was three or four Miles behind.

The Earl's
Retreat from
Dunee.

Nothing can be said in the Excuse of the Counsel of that day, which Might have made the King a glorious King indeed. The Earl of *Holland* was a man of Courage, and at that time not at all suspected to be Corrupted in his Affections; and though he himself had not seen more of War than two or three Campaigns in *Holland* before his coming to the Court, he had with him many as good Officers as the War of that age, which was very active, had made, and men of unquestionable Courage and Military knowledge. As he might very safely have made a Halt at *Dunee* till his Foot and Artillery came up to him, so he might securely enough have engaged his Body of Horse against their Whole inconsiderable Army, there being neither Tree nor Bush to interrupt his Charge; but it was thought otherwise; and no question it was generally believed, by

the placing and drawing out their Front in so conspicuous a place, by the appearance of other Troops behind them, and by the showing great herds of Cattle at a distance upon the Hills on either side, that Their Army was very much Superior in number. And therefore as soon as the Earl came in view, he despatched Messengers one after another to the King, with an account of what He heard and saw, or believed he saw, and yet thought not fit to stay for an Answer; but with the joint Consent of all his Officers (for it was never after pretended that any one Officer of name Dissuaded it, though they were still Ashamed of it) Retired towards his Foot, to whom he had likewise sent Orders not to Advance; and so Wearied and Tired by the length of the March, and more by the heat of the Weather, which was intolerable, they returned to the Camp, where the King was; and the *Scots* drew a little back, to a more convenient Post for their residence.

The Covenanters, who very well understood the Weakness of the Court, as well as their own Want of Strength, were very reasonably exalted with this Success, and scattered their Letters abroad amongst the Noblemen at Court, according to the Humors of the men to whom they writ; there being upon the matter an unrestrained Intercourse between the King's Camp and *Edinburgh*.

They writ three several Letters to the three Generals, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Earl of *Holland*. That to the Earl of *Essex* was in a dialect more Submits than to the others; they

B O O K

11.

The Covenanters write to the three Generals of.

B O O K II. said much to him of " his own Fame and Reputation, which added to their Affliction that He " should be in Arms against them; That they had " not the least imagination of entering into a War " against *England*, their only thought and hope was " to defend their own Rights and Liberties, which " were due to them by the Law of the Land, until " they might have Access to his Majesty to expose " their Complaints to him, from which they were " hindered by the Power and Greatness of some of " their own Country-men;" being desirous the Earl should understand that their principal Grievance was the Interest of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who, they knew, was not in any degree acceptable to the Earl; and therefore desired him " to be ready to do " them good offices to the King, that they might be " admitted to his Presence." The Earl of *Essex*, who was a punctual man in point of Honor, received this Address superciliously enough, sent it to the King without returning any Answer, or holding any Conference, or performing the least Ceremony, with or towards the Messengers.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another kind of Reception to the Letters they received. To the former, after many professions of high Esteem of his Person, they enlarged upon " their " great Affection to the *English* Nation, and how " they abhorred the thought of a War between the " two Nations;" they besought him " to present " their Supplication (which they inclosed) " to " the King, and to procure their Deputies admission to his Majesty." The Earl used them with

more Respect than was suitable to the office of a General, and made many professions of "his desire" to Interpose, and Mediate a good Peace between "the Nations:" and it was confidently reported, and believed, that he had frequently made those Professions by several Messages he had sent before into *Scotland*; and he had given Passes to many obscure Persons, to go into and return out of that Kingdom.

Their Letter to the Earl of *Holland* was in a more Confident style, as to a man from whom they Expected all good offices. They sent him likewise a Copy of their Supplication to the King, and desired him "to use his credit that a Treaty" might be entered into, and that his Majesty "would appoint men of Religion and of public Hearts to manage the Treaty." From this time that Earl was found at least enough inclined to That interest; and the King's readiness to hear discourses of a Pacification, and that Messengers would be shortly sent to him with Propositions worthy of his Acceptation, abated those Animosities, and appetite to War, which had made all the noise in the March.

Indeed the Marquis of *Hamilton's* Neighbourly residence with his Fleet and Foot-Soldiers before *Leith*, without any show of Hostility, or any care taken to draw his Friends and Followers together for the King's Service; on the other side, the Visits his Mother made him, on board his Ship, who was a Lady of great Authority amongst the Covenanters, and most addicted to Them and their Covenant, her

- B O O K 11. Daughters being likewise married to those Noblemen who most furiously Persecuted the Church, and Presided in those Councils; the King's refusing to give leave to some Officers of Horse who had offered to make Inroads into the Country and destroy the Stock thereof, whereby they would be presently obliged to make Submission, and to ask Pardon; and lastly the reception of the Earl of *Holland* after his shameful Retreat, with so much Satisfaction and Joy as his Majesty had manifested upon his return (having after the first Messenger's arrival from *Dunce*, when the Enemy was in view, sent him Orders not to Engage) made it then suspected, as it was afterwards believed by Those who stood nearest, that his Majesty had in truth never any purpose to make the War in Blood, but believed that by Showing an Army to them which was able to Force them to any Conditions, they would have begged Pardon for the Contest they had made, and so he should have Settled the Church, and all things else according to his Pleasure: and sure he might have done so, if he had but Sate still, and been Constant to his own Interest, and positive in Denying their insolent Demands. But the *Scots* in the Court had made Impression upon so many of the *English* Lords, that though at that time there were very few of them who had entered into an unlawful Combination against the King, yet there was almost a general Dislike of the War, both by the Lords of the Court and of the Country; and they took this Opportunity to communicate their Murmurs to each other; none of the Persons who
were

were most maligned for their Power and Interest B O O K
 with the King being upon the place: and all men II.
 believing, that nothing could be asked of the
 King but what must be satisfied at their charge,
 whose damage they considered though it was to
 be procured at the expence of the King's honor.
 When the Covenanters understood by their In-
 telligence, that the Season was ripe, they sent their
 Supplication (of which they had scattered so
 many Copies) to the King, and found themselves
 so welcome to all persons, that their modesty
 was not like to suffer any violence in offering the
 conditions.

The Scots had from the beginning, practised a They Address
to the King
 new sturdy style of Address, in which, under the
 Licence of accusing the counsel and carriage of
 Others, whom yet they never named, they bitterly
 and insolently Reproached the most immediate
 actions and directions of his Majesty himself; and
 then made the greatest professions of Duty to his
 Majesty's person that could be invented. The King
 had not, at that time, one Person about him of
 his Council who had the least consideration of
 his own Honor, or Friendship for those who sat at
 the Helm of affairs; the Duke of *Lenox* only ex-
 cepted: who was a Young man of small expe-
 rience in affairs, though a man of great Honor,
 and very good Parts, and under the disadvantage
 of being looked upon as a *Scotsmen*; which he
 was not in his Affections at all, being born in
England of an *English* Mother, and having had his
 Education there; and had indeed the manners and

B O O K affections of an *English*-man, and a duty and reverence for the King and the Church accordingly; and would never trust himself in those Intrigues, as too mysterious for him.

II.

The rest who were about the King in any offices of attendance, were the Earl of *Holland*, whom we have had occasion to mention before in the first entrance upon this Discourse, and whom we shall have often occasion hereafter to speak of; and therefore shall say no more of him now, than that he neither Loved the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom he believed the *Scots* intended to Revenge themselves upon; nor *Wentworth* the Deputy of *Ireland*; nor the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; nor almost any thing that was then done in Church or State. Secretary *Coke*, who had all the Despatches upon his hand, was near Eighty years of age; a man of gravity, who never had quickness from his Cradle; who loved the Church well enough as it was twenty years before; and understood nothing that had been done in *Scotland*, and thought that nothing that was, or could be done there, was worth such a Journey as the King had put himself to. Sir *Harry Vane* was Comptroller of the House, and a busy and a bustling man; who had credit enough to do his business in all places, and cared for no man otherwise than as he found it very convenient for himself. There was no other of his Council of name but the General the Earl of *Arundel*, who was always true to the Character under which he has been delivered, and thought he had been General long enough. All the Lustre of the Court was in that part of the Nobility which

attended upon Command, and at their Own charge; and therefore the more Weary of it. The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been forgotten, who abhorred the War as obstinately as he loved Hunting and Hawking, and so was like to promote all overtures towards Accommodation with great importunity: so the *Scots* found Persons to treat with according to their Own wish. The Earl of *Essex* still preserving his Grandeur and Punctuality, positively Refused to meddle in the Treaty, or to be Communicated with, or so much as to be Present, or receive any Visits from the *Scottish* Commissioners till after the Pacification was concluded.

The Covenanters were firm, and adhered still to their old natural Principle, even in this their Address; justified all they had done to be "according to Their native Rights, and for the better advancement of his Majesty's Service, which they had always before their eyes;" and desired "to have those receive exemplary punishment, who had done them ill offices and misrepresented their carriage to the King; and that some noble Lords might be appointed to treat upon all Particulars." And upon no other Submission than this, a Treaty was presently entered upon, and concluded.

A Treaty of
Pacification
entered upon
and concluded.

Whosoever will take upon him to relate all that passed in that Treaty, must be beholding to his own Invention: the most material matters having passed in Discourse, and very little committed to Writing. Nor did any Two who were present agree in the same Relation of what was said, and

BOOK

II.

done; and which was worse, not in the same Interpretation of the Meaning of what was comprehended in Writing. An Agreement was made, if that can be called an Agreement in which no body meant what others believed he did: "The Armies were to be disbanded; an Act of Oblivion passed; the King's Forts and Castles to be restored; and an Assembly and Parliament to be called for a full Settlement; no persons reserved for Justice, because no Fault had been committed:" The King's Army by the very Words of the Agreement, was not to be disbanded until all should be executed on Their part; and the King himself, at that time, resolved to be present in the Assembly at least, if not in the Parliament: but the Impatience of all was such for Peace, that the King's Army was presently Disbanded; his Majesty making all possible haste himself to *London*, and sending the Earl of *Traquair* to *Edinburgh* to prepare all things for the Assembly; whilst the Scots made all the Caresses to many of the *English*, and Both breathed out in mutual confidence their Resentments to each other.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* (whether upon the same of the Treaty, or sent for by the King, few knew) left his Fleet before *Leith* in a very peaceable posture, and came to the *Berkes* some hours after the Treaty was Signed; which was very convenient to Him, for thereby he was free from the Reproach that attended it, and at liberty to find Fault with it; which he did freely to the King, and to some Others, whereby he pre-

served himself in credit to do more Mischief. Many were then of opinion, and still are, that the Marquis at that time was very Unacceptable to his Country - men ; and it is certain that the chief Managers at the Treaty did persuade the *English* in whom they most confided, that their principal aim was to remove Him from the Court ; which was a design willingly heard, and universally grateful. But whatever state of grace he stood in when he came thither, he did himself so good offices before he parted, that he was no more in their disfavor. The King's Army was presently Disbanded, and the *Scots* returned to *Edinburgh* with all they desired ; having gotten many more Friends in *England* than they had before ; kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men as they thought fit, in Pay ; and Prosecuted all those who had not showed the same Zeal in their Covenant as themselves with great rigor, as Men whose Affections they doubted ; and instead of Remitting any thing of their rage against their Bishops, they entered a public Protestation, "That they did not intend, by any thing contained in the Treaty to Vacate any of the Proceedings which had been in the late General Assembly at *Glasgow*" (by which all the Bishops stood Excommunicated) and renewed all their Menaces against them by Proclamation ; and imposed grievous penalties upon all who should presume to harbour any of them in their Houses : so that , by the time the King came to *London*, it appeared plainly, that the Army was disbanded without any Peace made, and the *Scots* in

B O O K equal Inclination, and in more Reputation, to
 II. Affront his Majesty than ever. Upon which a Paper published by Them, and avowed to contain the matter of the Treaty, was Burned by the Common Hangman; every body disavowing the Contents of it, but no body taking upon him to publish a Copy that they owned to be True.

The III consequences of it.

The Mischief that befel the King from this wonderful Atonement cannot be expressed, nor was it ever discovered what prevailed over his Majesty to bring it so Wofully to pass: all men were Ashamed who had contributed to it; nor had he dismissed his Army with so obliging circumstances as was like to incline them to come willingly together again, if there were occasion to use their service. The Earl of *Essex*, who had merited very well throughout the whole Affair, and had never made a false step in Action or Counsel, was discharged in the Crowd, without ordinary Ceremony; and an accident happening at the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the Lord *Aston*, whereby the Command of the Forrest of *Needwood* fell into the King's disposal, which lay at the very door of that Earl's Estate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to Him, and bestowed upon Another: all which wrought very much upon his high Nature, and made him susceptible of some Impressions afterwards, which otherwise would not have found such easy admission.

The Factions and Animosities at Court were either greater, or more visible, than they had been before. The Earl of *Newcastle* (who was Governor to the Prince, and one of the most Valuable men in the

Kingdom, in his Fortune, in his Dependances, & o o k
 and in his Qualifications) had, at his Own Charge, 11.
 drawn together a goodly Troop of Horſe of
 two hundred; which for the moſt part conſiſted
 of the beſt Gentlemen of the North, who were
 either Allied to the Earl, or of immediate Depen-
 dence upon him, and came together purely upon
 His account; and called this Troop the *Prince*
of Wales's Troop; whereof the Earl himſelf was
 Captain. When the Earl of *Holland* marched with
 that Party into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* ac-
 companied him with that Troop, and upon occaſion
 of ſome Orders, deſired that Troop, ſince it be-
 longed to the Prince of *Wales*, might have ſome
 Precedence; which the General of the Horſe reſuſed
 to grant him, but required him to march in the rank
 he had preſcribed; and the other obeyed it accord-
 ingly, but with reſentment; imputing it to the
 little kindneſs that was between them. But as ſoon
 as the Army was Diſbanded, he ſent a Challenge to
 the Earl of *Holland*, by a Gentleman very punctual
 and well acquainted with thoſe Errands; who took
 a proper ſeaſon to mention it to him, without a
 poſſibility of ſuſpicion. The Earl of *Holland* was
 never ſuſpected to want Courage, yet in This
 occaſion he ſhewed not that alacrity, but that the
 delay expoſed it to notice; and ſo, by the King's
 Authority, the matter was Compoſed; though diſ-
 courſed of with liberty enough to give the whole
 Court occaſion to expreſs their Affections to either
 Party.

BOOK

II.

The King himself was very Melancholic, and quickly discerned that he had lost Reputation at home and abroad; and those Counsellors who had been most Faulty, either through want of Courage or Wisdom (for at that time few of them wanted Fidelity) never afterwards recovered Spirit enough to do their Duty, but gave themselves up to Those who had so much Over-witted them; every man shifting the Fault from himself, and finding some Friend to excuse him: and it being yet necessary that so Infamous a matter should not be covered with absolute Oblivion, it fell to Secretary *Coke's* turn (for whom nobody cared) who was then near fourscore years of age, to be made the Sacrifice; and, upon pretence that he had Omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and Inserted somewhat he ought Not to have done, he was put out of his Office; and within a short time after, Sir *Harry Vane* (who was Treasurer of the House) by the Dark Contrivance of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by the open and visible Power of the Queen, made Secretary of State; which was the only thing that could make the Removal of the other old man Censured and Murmured at: and this was attended again with a declared and unseasonable Dislike and Displeasure in the Queen against the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, newly made Earl of *Strafford*; who out of some kindness to the old man, who had been much trusted by him and of use to him, and out of contempt and detestation of *Vane*, but principally out of a desire to have that Miscarriage expiated by a greater Sacrifice, opposed the Removal of Secretary *Coke* with

all the interest he could, got it Suspended for some time, and put the Queen to the exercise of her full power to perfect her work; which afterwards produced many sad Disasters. So that this unhappy Pacification kindled many Fires of Contention in Court and Country, though the Flame broke out first again in *Scotland*.

On the other side, the *Scots* got so much Benefit and Advantage by it, that they brought all their other mischievous Devices to pass, with ease; and a prosperous Gale in all they went about. They had before little Credit abroad in any Foreign parts, and so could procure neither Arms nor Ammunition; and though they could lead the People at Home, out of the hatred and jealousy of Popery, into unruly Tumults, yet they had not Authority enough over them to engage them in a firm resolution of Rebellion: the Opinion of their unquestionable Duty and Loyalty to the King, was that which had given them reputation to Affront him: nor durst they yet attempt to lay any Tax or Imposition upon the People, or to put them to any Charge. But, after this Pacification; they appeared much more considerable abroad, and at home; Abroad, where they were not so much considered before, now that they had brought an Army into the Field against the King, and gained, all they pretended to desire without reproach or blemish, *France*, their old Ally, looked upon them as good Instruments to disturb their Neighbours; and Cardinal *Richlieu* (who had never looked upon the Defeat and Overthrow at the Isle of *Re*, as any reparation for the Attempt and

BOOK

II.

Disshonor of the Invasion) was very glad of the opportunity of Disturbing the Rest and Quiet, which had not been favorable to His designs; and sent an Agent privately to *Edinborough*, to cherish and foment their Unpeaceable Inclinations; and received Another from thence, who solicited Supplies, and communicated Counsels: he sent them Arms and Ammunition, and promised them Encouragement and Assistance proportionable to any Enterprize they should frankly engage themselves in. *Holland* entered into a closer correspondence with them; and they found Credit there for a great Stock of Arms and Ammunition, upon Security of payment within a Year; which Security they easily found a way to give. And thus Countenanced, and Supplied, they quickly got Credit and Power over the people at Home; and as soon as they had formed some Troops of those who had been lifted by them under good Officers (whereof store resorted to them of that Nation out of *Germany* and *Sweden*) and assigned Pay to them, they made no longer scruple to Impose what Money they thought fit upon the People, and to levy it with all Rigor upon them who refused, or expressed any unwillingness to submit to the Imposition; and made the Residence of any amongst them very uneasy, and very insecure, who were but suspected by them not to wish well to their Proceedings: and so they renewed all those Forms for the Administration of the Government, which they had begun in the beginning of the Disorders, and which they disclaimed upon making the Pacification; and refused to suffer the King's Governor of the Castle

of *Edinburgh* (which was put into his hands about the same time) either to repair some Works which were newly fallen down, or so much as to buy Provision in the Town for the food of the Garrison. BOOK
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But that which was the greatest Benefit and Advantage that accrued to them from the Agreement, and which was worth all the rest, was the Conversation they had with the *English* with so much Reputation, that they had persuaded very many to believe, that they had all manner of Fidelity to the King, and had too much cause to complain of the hard Proceedings against them by the Power of some of their own Country-men; and the Acquaintance they made with some particular Lords, to that degree, that They did upon the matter agree what was to be done for the future, and how to obstruct any Opposition or Proceedings by those who were looked upon as Enemies by both Sides: for none in *Scotland* more Disliked all that was done in Court, and the chief Actors there, than Those Lords of *England* did; though They were not so well prepared for an Expedient for the cure.

The People of *Scotland* being now reduced by Them to a more implicit Obedience, and no body daring to oppose the most extravagant proceedings of the most violent persons in Power, they lost no time, as hath been said, to make all preparations for a War they meant to pursue. Most of the King's Privy-Council and great Ministers, who (though they had not vigorously performed their Duty in support of the Regal Power) till now had been so reserved that they seemed not to approve the Disord-

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II. erly Proceedings, now as frankly wedded that Interest as any of the Leaders, and quickly became the Chief of the Leaders.

The Earl of Argyle joins with the Covenanters, notwithstanding his great Obligations to the King.

As the Earl of *Argyle*: who had been preserved by the King's immediate Kindness and full Power, and rescued from the Anger and Fury of his incensed Father; who, being provoked by the Disobedience and Insolence of his Son, resolved so to have disposed of his Fortune, that little should have accompanied the Honor after his death. But by the King's interposition, and indeed imposition, the Earl, in strictness of the Law in *Scotland*, having need of the King's grace and protection, in regard of his being become Roman-Catholic, and his Majesty granting all to the Son which he could exact from the Father, the old Man was in the end compelled to make over all his Estate to his Son; reserving only such a provision for Himself, a supported him according to his Quality during his Life, which he spent in the parts beyond the Seas. The King had too much occasion afterwards to remember, that in the close, after his Majesty had determined what should be done on either part, the old Man declared "He would submit to the King's Pleasure, though he "believed he was hardly dealt with;" and then with some Bitterness put his Son in mind of his Undutiful carriage towards him; and charged him "to carry "in his mind how Bountiful the King had been to "him;" which yet, he told him, he was sure he would forget: and thereupon said to his Majesty "Sir, I must "know this young Man better than you can do; you "have brought Me low, that you may raise Him; "I doubt you will live to repent; for he is a Man

“ of craft, subtilty, and falshood, and can love no
 “ Man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do You
 “ a mischief, he will be sure to do it.” The King
 considered it only as the effect of his Passion, and
 took no other care to prevent it, but by heaping
 every day new obligations upon him, making him
 a Privy-Counsellor, and giving him other Offices
 and Power to do Hurt, thereby to Restrain him
 from doing it; which would have wrought upon any
 Generous Nature the Effect it ought to have done.
 The Earl (for his Father was now dead) came not
 to *Edinburgh* during the first Troubles; and though
 he did not dissemble his Displeasure against the
 Bishops, because one of them had Affronted him, in
 truth, very Rudely, yet he renewed all imaginable
 professions of Duty to the King and a readiness to
 engage in his Service, if those Disorders should con-
 tinue: but after the Pacification, and Disbanding of
 the King’s Army, and the Covenanters declaring
 that they would adhere to the Acts of the Assembly
 at *Glasgow*, he made haste to *Edinburgh* with a great
 train of his Family and Followers; and immediately
 signed the Covenant, engaged for the provision of
 Arms, and raising Forces; and in all things behaved
 himself like a Man that might very safely be confided
 in by that Party.

There wanted not persons still who persuaded the
 King “ that all might yet be ended without Blood;
 “ that there were great Divisions amongst the chief
 “ Leaders, through emulation and ambition of
 “ Command; and that the access of the Earl of *Argyle*
 “ to that Party, would drive others as considerable

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“ from it, who never did, nor ever would unite
 “ with him in any design;” and therefore advised
 “ that his Majesty would require them to send some
 “ Persons intrusted by their Body to attend him, and
 “ give an account of the Reasons of their Proceed-
 “ ings.” They demanded a safe Conduct for the
 security of the Persons they should employ; which
 was sent accordingly: and thereupon some persons
 of the Nobility, and Others, were Commissioned,
 to wait on the King; amongst which the Lord *Low-*
den was principally relied on for his Parts and Abili-
 ties; a Man who was better known afterwards, and
 whom there will hereafter be so often occasion to
 mention, as it will not be necessary in this place fur-
 ther to enlarge upon him. They behaved themselves,
 in all respects, with the Confidence of men employed
 by a Foreign State; refused to give any account but
 to the King himself; and even to Himself gave no
 other Reason for what was done, but the Authority
 of the doers, and the Necessity that required it; that
 is, that They thought it necessary: but then they
 Polished their sturdy behaviour with all the profes-
 sions of Submission and Duty, which their Language
 could afford.

A letter in-
 tercepted
 from some of
 the Scottish
 Nobility to
 the French
 King.

At this time the King happened to intercept a
 Letter, which had been signed by the chief of the
 Covenanters, and particularly by the Lord *Lowden*,
 written to the *French King*; in which they complained
 “ of the Hardness and Injustice of the Government
 “ that was exercised over them; put Him in mind
 “ of the Dependance this Kingdom formerly had
 “ upon that Crown; and desired him now to take

“ them into his Protection, and give them Assistance ; B O O K
 “ and that his Majesty would give entire credit to 11.
 “ one *Colvil*, who was the Bearer of that Letter,
 “ and well instructed in all Particulars :” and the Letter itself was sealed, and directed *Au Roy*; a style only used from Subjects to their natural King. This Letter being seen and perused by the Lords of the Council, and the Lord *Lowden* being examined, and refusing to give any other answer, than “ That
 “ it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon
 “ reserved and never sent; that if he had committed
 “ any Offence, he ought to be questioned for it in
 “ *Scotland*, and not in *England*; and insisting upon
 “ his safe Conduct, demanded liberty to return :”

All Men were of opinion that so foul a Conspiracy and Treason ought not to be so Slightly excused; and that both the Lord *Lowden*, and *Colvil* (who was likewise found in *London* and apprehended) should be committed to the Tower: which was done accordingly; all Men expecting that they should be brought to a speedy Trial.

This Discovery made a very deep Impression upon the King; and persuaded him that such a foul Application could never have been thought of, if there had not been more Poison in the heart than could be expelled by easy Antidotes; and that the strongest Remedies must be provided to root out this Mischief: thereupon he first advised with that Committee of the Council, which used to be consulted in Secret affairs, What was to be done? That Summer's action had wasted all the Money that had been carefully laid up; and to carry on that vast Expense, the Revenue

B O O K of the Crown had been Anticipated; so that, though
 II. the raising an Army was visibly Necessary, there appeared no means How to raise that Army. No Expedient occurred to them so proper as a Parliament, which had been now intermitted near twelve Years. And though those Meetings had of late been attended by some Disorders, the effects of Mutinous Spirits; and the last had been Dissolved (as hath been said before) with some circumstances of Passion and Undutifulness, which so far Incensed the King that he was less inclined to those Assemblies, yet this long Intermission, and the general Composure of Men's minds in a happy Peace, and universal Plenty over the whole Nation (superior sure to what any other Nation ever enjoyed) made it reasonably believed, notwithstanding the murmurs of the People against some exorbitancies of the Court, that Sober men, and such as loved the Peace and Plenty they were possessed of, would be made choice of to serve in the House of Commons; and then the temper of the House of Peers was not to be apprehended: but especially the opinion of the Prejudice and general Aversion over the whole Kingdom to the *Scots*, and the Indignation they had at Their presumption in their design of Invading *England*, made it believed that a Parliament would express a very sharp sense of their Insolence and Carriage towards the King, and provide Remedies proportionable.

A Parliament
 called in Eng-
 land to Sit in
 April 1640.

Upon these Motives and Reasons, with the unanimous Consent and Advice of the whole Committee, the King resolved to Call a Parliament; which he communicated the same day, or rather took the resolution

resolution that day, in his full Council of State, which expressed great Joy upon it; and directed the Lord Keeper to issue out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament upon the Third day of *April* then next ensuing; it being now in the Month of *December*; and all expedition was accordingly used in sending out the said Writs, the notice of it being most Welcome to the whole Kingdom.

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That it might appear that the Court was not at all apprehensive of what the Parliament would, or could do; and that it was Convened by his Majesty's grace and inclination, not by any motive of necessity; it proceeded in all respects in the same Unpopular ways it had done; Ship-money was levied with the same severity; and the same rigor used in Ecclesiastical Courts, without the least compliance with the humor of any Man; which looked like Steadiness; and, if it were Then well pursued, degenerated too soon afterwards.

In this Interval, between the sealing of the Writs and the Convention of a Parliament, the Lord Keeper *Coventry* died; to the King's great detriment, rather than to his Own. So much hath been said already of this great Man, that there shall be no further enlargement in this place, than to say, that he was a very Wise and Excellent person, and had a rare Felicity, in being looked upon generally throughout the Kingdom with great Affection, and singular Esteem, when very few other men in any High Trust were so; and it is very probable, if He had lived to the Sitting of that Parliament, when, whatever lurked in the Hearts of any, there was not the least

The Lord
Keeper *Co-*
ventry dies.

B O O K

II.

Sir John
Finch made
Lord Keeper.

Outward appearance of any Irreverence to the Crown, that he might have had great Authority in the forming those Counsels, which might have preserved it from so unhappy a Dissolution. His Loss was the more manifest and visible in his Successor; the Seal being within a day or two given to Sir *John Finch*, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; a Man exceedingly obnoxious to the People upon the business of Ship-money; and not of Reputation and Authority enough, to countenance and advance the King's Service.

These Digressions have taken up too much time, and may seem Foreign to the proper subject of this Discourse; yet they may have given some Light to the obscure and dark passages of that Time, which were Understood by very few.

The Parlia-
ment met,
April the
Third, 1640.

The Parliament met according to Summons upon the Third of *April* in the Year 1640, with the usual Ceremony and Formality: and after the King had shortly mentioned "his desire to be again Acquainted
" with Parliaments, after so long an Intermission;
" and to receive the Advice and Assistance of his
" Subjects there;" he referred the Cause of the present Convention to be enlarged upon by the Lord Keeper: who related the whole Proceedings of *Scotland*; "his Majesty's condescensions the Year before,
" in Disbanding his Army upon their promises and
" professions; their Insolencies since; and their
" Address to the King of *France*, by the Letter
" mentioned before;" which the King had touched upon, and having forgot to make the Observation upon the Superscription himself, he required the

Keeper to do it; who told them after the whole Relation, "That his Majesty did not expect Advice
 " from them, much less that They should interpose
 " in any office of Mediation, which would not be
 " Grateful to him; but that they should, 'as soon as
 " might be, give his Majesty such a Supply, as he
 " might provide for the Vindication of his Honor,
 " by raising an Army, which the Season of the
 " Year, and the Progress the Rebels had already
 " made, called for without delay; and his Majesty
 " assured them, if they would gratify him with the
 " despatch of This matter, that he would give them
 " time enough afterwards to represent any Grievan-
 " ces to him, and a favorable Answer to them:"
 and so dismissed the Commons to chuse their Speaker;
 to which Serjeant *Glanville* was designed, and
 chosen the same day: a man very equal to the work,
 very well acquainted with the proceedings in Parlia-
 ment; of a quick conception, and of a ready and
 voluble expression, dexterous in disposing the House,
 and very acceptable to them. The Earl of *Arundel*,
 Earl Marshal of *England*, was made Lord Steward
 of the King's House; an Office necessary in the be-
 ginning of a Parliament, being to swear all the Mem-
 bers of the House of Commons before they could
 Sit there. Two days after, the Commons presented
 their Speaker to the King, who, in the accustomed
 manner, approved their choice; upon which they
 returned to their House, being now formed and qual-
 ified to enter upon any Debates.

The House met always at eight of the Clock, and
 rose at twelve; which were the old Parliament-

B O O K
 II.
 Serjeant
Glanville
 chosen
 Speaker.

B O O K hours; that the Committees, upon whom the greatest
 11. burden of the business lay, might have the after-
 noons for Their preparation and despatch. It was
 not the Custom to enter upon any Important busi-
 ness, in the first Fortnight; both because many
 Members used to be absent so long; and that time
 was usually thought necessary for the appointment
 and nomination of Committees, and for other Cere-
 monies and Preparations that were usual: but there
 was no regard now to that Custom; and the appear-
 ance of the Members was very great, there having
 been a large time between the issuing out of the
 Writs and the meeting of the Parliament, so that all
 Elections were made, and returned, and every body
 was willing to fall to the Work.

Mr. Pym's,
 and Others
 Speeches con-
 cerning
 Grievances.

Whilst men gazed upon each other, looking who
 should begin (much the greatest part having never
 before sat in Parliament) Mr. *Pym*, a man of good
 reputation, but much better known afterwards,
 who had been as long in those Assemblies as any man
 then living, brake the Ice, and in a set Discourse of
 above two hours, after mention of the King with
 the most profound reverence, and commendation
 of his Wisdom and Justice, he observed, "That by
 " the long Intermission of Parliaments many Unwar-
 " rantable things had been practised, notwithstand-
 " ing the great Virtue of his Majesty:" and then
 enumerated all the Projects which had been set on
 foot; all the Illegal Proclamations which had been
 published, and the Proceedings which had been
 upon those Proclamations; the Judgment upon Ship-
 money; and many Grievances which related to the

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction ; summing up shortly, and sharply, all that most reflected upon the Prudence, and the Justice of the Government; concluding, “ That he had only laid that Scheme before them, “ that they might see how much work they had to “ do to Satisfy their Country; the method and manner of the doing whereof he left to their Wisdoms.”

Mr. *Grimston* insisted only on the business of Ship-money; the irregular and preposterous engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion to the King, and their being afterwards divided in their Judgments; and said, “ He was persuaded, that They, who “ gave their Opinions for the Legality of it, did it “ against the *dictamen* of their own Conscience.”

Peard, a bold Lawyer, of little note, inveighed more Passionately against it, calling it an *Abomination*; upon which, *Herbert*, the King’s Solicitor, with all imaginable address, in which he then excelled, put them in mind “ with what Candor his Majesty “ had proceeded in That, and all Other things, “ which related to the administration of Justice to “ all his people; that, how persuaded soever He “ was within himself of the Justice as well as Necessity “ of levying Ship-money, he would not send out a “ Writ for the doing thereof, till he received the “ affirmative Advice of all the Judges of *England*; “ and when the payment was Opposed by a Gentleman ” (and then he took occasion to stroke and commend Mr. *Hambden*, who sat under him, for his great temper and modesty in the prosecution of that Suit) “ the King was very well contented that “ all the Judges of *England* should determine the

BOOK II. "Right; that never any Cause had been debated
 "and argued more Solemnly before the Judges;
 "who, after long deliberation between themselves,
 "and being attended with the Records; which had
 "been cited on both Sides, delivered each man his
 "Opinion and Judgment publicly in the Court,
 "and so largely, that but two Judges argued in a
 "day; and after all this, and a Judgment with that
 "Solemnity pronounced For the King, by which
 "the King was as Legally possessed of that Right,
 "as of any thing else he had; that any particular
 "man should presume to speak against it with that
 "Bitterness, and to call it an *Abomination*, was
 "very Offensive, and Unwarrantable; and desired
 "that that Gentleman, who had used that Expression, might Explain himself, and then withdraw."
 Very many called him to the Bar; and the Solicitor's Discourse was thought to have so much Weight in it, that Mr. *Peard* very hardly escaped a severe Reprehension: which is mentioned only that the temper and sobriety of that House may be taken notice of, and their Dissolution, which shortly after fell out, the more lamented.

Though the Parliament had not sat above six or seven days, and had managed all their Debates, and their whole Behaviour with wonderful order and sobriety, the Court was Impatient that no advance was yet made towards a Supply; which was foreseen would take up much time, whensoever they went about it, though never so cordially; and therefore they prevailed with the House of Peers, which was more entirely at the King's disposal, that they would

The House of
 Peers advise
 the Commons
 to begin with
 a Supply.

demand a Conference with the House of Commons, and then propose to them, by way of advice, "That they would begin with giving the King a Supply, in regard of the urgency and even necessity of his affairs, and afterwards proceed upon their Grievances, or any thing else as they thought fit:" and the House of Peers accordingly did give their advice to this purpose at a Conference. This Conference was no sooner reported in the House of Commons, than their whole Temper seemed to be shaken. It was the undoubted Fundamental privilege of the Commons in Parliament, that all Supplies should have their rise and beginning from Them; this had never been infringed, or violated, or so much as questioned in the worst Times; and that now after so long intermission of Parliaments, that all Privileges might be forgotten, the House of Peers should begin with an action their Ancestors never attempted, administered too much cause of Jealousy of somewhat else that was intended; and so with an unanimous consent they declared it to be "so high a Breach of Privilege, that they could not proceed upon any other matter until they first received Satisfaction and Reparation from the House of Peers;" and which the next day they demanded at a Conference. The Lords were sensible of their Error; which had been foreseen, and dissuaded by many of them; they acknowledged the Privilege of the Commons as fully as they demanded it, and hoped they had not broken it by offering their advice to them without mentioning the nature of the Supply, the proportion, or manner of raising it, which they

B O O K
II.

This voted a
Breach of Pri-
vilege by the
Commons.

B O O K II. “ confessed belonged entirely to Them:” in fine, they desired them, “ that this might be no occasion “ of wasting their time, but that they would proceed “ their Own way, and in their Own method, upon “ the affairs of the Kingdom ” This gave no satisfaction ; was no reparation ; and served Their turn who had no mind to give any Supply without discovering any such dissatisfaction, which would have got them no credit, the House generally being exceedingly disposed to please the King, and to do him service. But this Breach of Privilege, which was craftily enlarged upon as if it swallowed up all their other Privileges, and made them wholly subservient to the Peers, was universally resented. A Committee was appointed to examine Precedents of former times, in case of violation of their Privileges by the Lords, though not of that magnitude, and thereupon to prepare a Protestation to be sent up to the House of Peers, and to be entered into their own Journal ; and in the mean time no proceedings to be in the House upon any public business, except upon some report from a Committee.

The King's
Proposition to
the House of
Commons :

After some days had passed in this manner, and it not being in view when this debate would be at an end, the King thought of another expedient, and sent a message in writing to the Commons by Sir *Henry Vane*, who was now both Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household, and at that time of good credit there ; wherein his Majesty took notice, “ that there was some difference between “ the two Houses, which retarded the Transaction “ of the great affairs of the Kingdom, at a time when

“ a Foreign Army was ready to invade it: That
 “ he heard the payment of Ship-money, notwith-
 “ standing that it was adjudged his right, was not
 “ willingly submitted to by the People; to manifest
 “ therefore his good affection to his Subjects in
 “ general, he made this Proposition, That if the
 “ Parliament would grant him twelve Subsidies to
 “ be paid in three Years, in the manner proposed
 “ (that was, five Subsidies to be paid the first Year,
 “ four the second, and three to be paid the last
 “ Year) his Majesty would then release all his title
 “ or pretence to Ship-money for the future, in such
 “ a manner as his Parliament should advise.

B O O K
 II.

Though Exceptions might have been taken again
 in point of Privilege, because his Majesty took
 notice of the difference between the two Houses;
 yet that Spirit had not Then taken so deep root:
 so that they resolved to enter, the next day after the
 delivery of it, upon a full debate of his Majesty's
 message; they who desired to obstruct the giving
 any Supply, believing they should easily prevail to
 reject this Proposition, upon the greatness of the
 sum demanded, without appearing not to favor the
 Cause in which it was to be employed, which they
 could not have done with any advantage to them-
 selves, the number of that Classis of men being then
 not considerable in the House. It was about the first
 day of *May* that the Message was delivered, and
 the next day it was resumed about nine of the Clock
 in the Morning, and the debate continued till four
 of the Clock in the Afternoon; which had been
 seldom used before, but afterwards grew into custom.

This debated.

B O O K II Many observed " that they were to purchase a
II. " release of an Imposition very Unjustly laid upon
" the Kingdom, and by purchasing it, they should
" upon the matter confess it had been Just ;" which
no man in his heart acknowledged ; and therefore wished " that the Judgment might be first
" examined, and being once declared Void, what
" they should present the King with, would appear
" a Gift, and not a Recompence : " but this was
rather modestly insinuated than insisted upon ; and
the greater number reflected more on the Proportion
demanded, which some of those who were
thought very well to understand the state of the
Kingdom, confidently affirmed to be more than the
whole stock in Money of the Kingdom amounted
to ; which appeared shortly after to be a very gross
Miscomputation. There were very few, except
those of the Court (who were ready to give all that
the King would ask, and indeed had little to give of
their own) who did not believe the Sum demanded
to be too great, and wished that a less might be
accepted, and therefore were willing, when the
day was so far spent, that the Debate might be
adjourned till the next Morning ; which was willingly
consented to by all, and so the House rose. All
this agitation had been in a Committee of the whole
House, the Speaker having left the Chair, to which
Mr. *Lenthall*, a Lawyer of no eminent account, was
called. But there was not, in the whole day, in
all the variety of contradictions, an offensive or angry
word spoken : except only that one private Country-
Gentleman, little known, said, " He observed that

" the Supply was to be employed in the supporting
" *Bellum Episcopale*, which he thought the Bishops
" were fittest to do themselves:" but as there was
no reply, or notice taken of it, so there was no
body who seconded that envious reflection, nor any
other expression of that kind.

The next day as soon as the House met, and
Prayers were read, it resolved again into a Com-
mittee of the whole House, the same Person being
again called to the Chair: it was expected, and
hoped, that there would have been some new message
from the King, that might have facilitated the
debate; but nothing appearing of that kind, the
Proposition was again read, and men of all sides
discoursed much of what had been said before, and
many spoke with more reflection upon the Judgment
of Ship-money than they had done the day past,
and seemed to wish, " that whatsoever they should
" give the King should be a free testimony of their
" affection and duty, without any release of Ship-
" money, which deserved no consideration, but in
" a short time would appear void and null." And
this seemed to agree with the sense of so great a part
of the House, that Mr. *Hambden* the most Popular
man in the House (the same who had defended
the Suit against the King in his own name, upon the
Illegality of Ship-money) thought the matter ripe
for the Question, and desired the Question might
be put, " Whether the House would consent to the
" Proposition made by the King, as it was contained
" in the message?" which would have been sure to
have found a Negative from all who thought the

B O O K Sum too great, or were not pleased that it should
 11. be given in recompence of Ship-money.

When many called to have this Question, Serjeant *Glanville* the Speaker (who sat by amongst the other Members whilst the House was in a Committee, and had rarely used to speak in such seasons) rose up, and in a most pathetical Speech, in which he excelled, endeavoured to persuade the House "to
 " comply with the King's desire, for the good of
 " the Nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments
 " for ever, which this seasonable testimony of their
 " affections would infallibly do." He made it manifest to them how very inconsiderable a Sum twelve Subsidies amounted to, by telling them, "that he
 " had computed what he was to pay for those
 " twelve Subsidies;" and when he named the Sum, he being known to be possessed of a great Estate, it seemed not worth any farther Deliberation. And in the warmth of his Discourse, which he plainly discerned made a wonderful impression upon the House, he let fall some sharp expressions against the Imposition of Ship-money, and the Judgment in the point, which he said plainly "was against the
 " Law, if he understood what Law was" (who was known to be very Learned) which expression, how necessary and artificial soever to reconcile the affections of the House to the matter in question, very much irreconciled him at Court, and to Those upon whom he had the greatest dependance.

There was scarce ever a Speech that more gathered up and united the Inclinations of a popular Council to the Speaker: and if the Question had

been presently put, it was believed the number of the Dissenters would not have appeared great. But after a short silence, some men, who wished well to the Main, expressed a dislike of the Way, so that other men recovered new Courage, and called again with some earnestness, "That the Question formerly proposed by Mr. *Hambden* should be put;" which seemed to meet with a concurrence. Mr. *Hyde* then stood up, and desired "that Question might not be put; said, it was a Captious question, to which only one sort of men could clearly give their Vote, which were They who were for a rejection of the King's Proposition, and no more resuming the debate upon that Subject: but that They who desired to give the King a Supply, as he believed most did, though not in such a Proportion, nor, it may be, in that Manner, could receive no Satisfaction by that question; and therefore He proposed, to the end that every man might frankly give his Yea, or his No, that the question might be put only, upon the giving the King a Supply, which being carried in the Affirmative, another question might be upon the Proportion, and the Manner; and if the first were carried in the Negative, it would produce the same effect, as the other question proposed by Mr. *Hambden* would do.

This method was received by some with great approbation, but opposed by others with more than ordinary Passion, and diverted by other Propositions, which being seconded took much time, without pointing to any Conclusion. In the end Serjeant

BOOK

II.

Glanville said, " That there had been a Question proposed by his Country-man, that agreed very well with His sense, and moved that the Gentleman might be called upon to propose it again." Mr. *Hyde* stated the case again as he had done, answered somewhat that had been said against it, and moved " that Question might be put." Whereupon for a long time there was nothing said, but a confused clamor, and call, Mr. *Hambden's Question*, Mr. *Hyde's Question*; the call appearing much stronger for the last, than the former: and it was generally believed that the Question had been put, and carried in the Affirmative, though it was positively opposed by *Herbert* the Solicitor-General, for what reason no man could imagine, if Sir *Henry Vane* the Secretary had not stood up, and said, " That, as it had been always his custom to deal plainly and clearly with that House in all things, so he could not but now assure them, that the putting, and carrying that Question, could be of no use; for that he was most sure, and had Authority to tell them so, that if they should pass a Vote for the giving the King a Supply, if it were not in the Proportion and Manner proposed in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him; and therefore desired that Question might be laid aside;" which being again urged by the Solicitor-General upon the Authority of what the other had declared, and the other Privy-Counsellors saying nothing, though they were much displeased with the Secretary's averment, the business was no more pressed: but it being near five

of the Clock in the afternoon, and every body weary, it was willingly consented to that the House should be Adjourned till the next morning. 11.

Both Sir *Henry Vane*, and the Solicitor-General (whose opinion was of more weight with the King than the others) had made a worse representation of the humor and affection of the House than it deserved, and undertook to know, that if they came together again, they would pass such a Vote against Ship-money, as would blast that Revenue and other branches of the Receipt; which Others believed they would not have had the confidence to have Attempted; and very Few, that they would have had the credit to have Compassed. What followed in the next Parliament, within less than a Year, made it believed, that Sr. *Henry Vane* acted that part Maliciously, and to bring all into Confusion; he being known to have an implacable hatred against the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose destruction was then upon the Anvil. But what transported the Solicitor, who had none of the ends of the other, could not be imagined, except it was his pride, and peevishness, when he found that he was like to be of less Authority there, than he looked to be; and yet he was heard with great attention, though his Parts were most prevalent in puzzling and perplexing that discourse he meant to cross. Let their Motives be what they would, they Two, and they only, wrought so far with the King, that without so much Deliberation as the affair was worthy of, his Majesty the next morning, which was on the Fifth of May,

B O O K near a month after their first meeting, sent for the
II. Speaker to attend him, and took care that he should go directly to the House of Peers, upon some apprehension that if he had gone to the House of Commons, that House would have entered upon some ungrateful discourse; which they were not inclined to do: and then sending for that House to attend him, the Keeper, by his Majesty's Command, Dissolved the Parliament.

The Parlia-
 ment Dis-
 solved.

There could not a greater damp have seized upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, than this Dissolution caused; and men had much of the Misery in view, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what Offence they had given, which put the King upon that resolution. But it was observed, that in the countenances of Those who had most opposed all that was desired by his Majesty, there was a marvellous Serenity; nor could they conceal the Joy of their hearts: for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the King would be shortly compelled to call another Parliament, and they were as sure, that so many, so unbiassed men, would never be elected again.

Within an hour after the Dissolving, Mr. *Hyde* met Mr. *Saint John*, who had naturally a great cloud in his Face, and very seldom was known to smile, but Then had a most cheerful aspect, and seeing the other melancholic, as in truth he was from his heart, asked him, "What troubled him?"
 who

who answered, "That the same that troubled Him, B O O K
 " he believed troubled most Good men; that in II.
 " such a time of Confusion, so wise a Parliament,
 " which alone could have found Remedy for it,
 " was so unseasonably dismissed", the other answered
 with a little warmth, " That all was well; and
 " that it must be Worse, before it could be Better;
 " and that this Parliament could never have done
 " what was necessary to be done"; as indeed it would
 not, what He and His friends thought necessary.

The King, when he had better reflected upon The King's
 what was like to fall out, and was better informed trouble for is
 of the temper and duty of the House of Commons, afterwards.
 and that they had voted a Supply, if Sir *Henry*
Vane had not hindered it by so positive a declaration
 that his Majesty would refuse it, was heartily Sorry
 for what he had done; declared with great anger,
 " That he had never given him such Authority;
 " and that He knew well that the giving him any
 " Supply would have been welcome to him, be-
 " cause the reputation of his Subjects assisting him
 " in that conjuncture, was all that he looked for
 " and considered." He consulted the same day, or
 the next, whether he might by his Proclamation
 recal them to meet together again: but finding
 that impossible, he fell roundly to find out all
 expedients for the raising of Money, in which he
 had so wonderful success, that, in less than three
 weeks, by the voluntary Loan of the particular
 Lords of the Council, and of other Private Gen-
 tlemen about the City, some relating to the Court,
 and others strangers to it, there was no less than

three hundred thousand pounds paid into the Exchequer to be issued out as his Majesty should direct: a Sum that sufficiently manifested the plenty of that Time, and greater than most Princes in *Europe* could have commanded in so short a time; and was an unanswerable evidence, that the hearts of his Subjects were not then aliened from their duty to the King, or a just jealousy for His honor.

An Army
raised.

All diligence was used in making Levies, in which few of the General Officers which had been employed the Year before were made use of; though it was great pity that the Earl of *Essex* was not again taken in; which had infallibly preserved him from swerving from his Duty, and he would have discharged his trust with Courage and Fidelity, and therefore probably with Success: but he was of a haughty Spirit, and did not think his last Summer's Service so well requited, that he was earnestly to solicit for another Office; though there is no doubt but he would have accepted it if it had been offered.

The Earl of
Northumber-
land made
General.

A General was appointed, the Earl of *Northumberland*; and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse: which made the great Officers of the former Year, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Earl of *Holland* (who thought themselves free from any Oversight that had been committed) more capable of Insults by those who were ready to work according to the Occurrences upon their several constitutions. But the reputation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had indeed arrived at a wonderful general estimation, was believed to be most instrumental in it: and the Lord *Conway* was

thought an able Soldier, and of great Parts. Besides, the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland* were thought less governable by those Councils to which the main was then to be intrusted, the Earl of *Strafford* bearing a part in them; to whom the first was very averse, and the latter irreconcilable. B O O K
II.

Despatches were sent into *Ireland* to quicken the Preparations there, which the Earl had left in a great forwardness, under the care of the Earl of *Ormond* his Lieutenant General: Moneys issued out for the levies of Horse and Foot there, and for the making a Train: all which were as well advanced, as, considering the general Discomposure, could be reasonably expected.

The King, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, thought they had well provided for the worst in making of the Lord *Conway* to be General of the Horse: a man very dear to the two Earls; and indeed, by a very extraordinary fate, he had got a very particular interest and esteem in many Worthy men of very different qualifications. He had been born a Soldier in his Father's Garrison of the *Brill*, when he was Governor there; and bred up, in several Commands, under the particular care of the Lord *Vere*, whose Nephew he was; and though he was Married young, when his Father was Secretary of State, there was no Action of the *English* either at Sea or Land, in which he had not a considerable Command; and always preserved a more than ordinary Reputation, in spite of some great Infirmities, which use to be a great allay to the credit of active men; for

The Lord
Conway
General of the
Horse.

- ○ ○ ■ he was a voluptuous man in eating and drinking, and of great licence in all other excesses, and yet was very acceptable to the strictest, and the gravest men of all conditions. And which was stranger than all this, he had always (from his Pleasure, to which his nature excessively inclined him, and from his Profession, in which he was diligent enough) reserved so much time for his Books and Study, that he was well versed in all parts of Learning, at least appeared like such a one in all occasions, and in the best companies. He was of a very pleasant and inoffensive Conversation, which made him generally very acceptable: so that the Court being at that time full of Faction, very few loving one another, or those who resorted to any who were not loved by them, He alone was even domestic with all, and not suspected by either of the Lords or the Ladies factions.

The War was generally thought to be as well provided for, as, after the last year's miscarriage, it could be, by His being made General of the Horse; and no man was more pleased with it, than the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to speak in the Affairs of the Church, and taking care to be thought by him a very Zealous Defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he had no kind of sense of Religion, and thought all was alike. He was sent down with the first Troops of Horse, and Foot, which were levied, to the Borders of *Scotland*, to attend the motion of

the Enemy, and had a Strength sufficient to stop them if they should attempt to pass the River, which was not Fordable in above one or two places, there being good Garrisons in *Berwick* and *Carlisle*. And in this posture he lay near *Newburn* in the out-skirts of *Northumberland*. BOOK
II.

Whilst these things were thus publicly Acted, private agitations were not less vigorously intended. The Treaty and Pacification of the former year, had given an opportunity of forming Correspondences, and contriving Designs, which before had been more Clandestine; and the late meeting in Parliament had brought many together, who could not otherwise have met, and discovered humors and affections, which could not else have been so easily communicated. The Court was full of Faction and Animosity, each man more intending the ruin of his Adversary, and satisfying his private Malice, than advancing his Master's Service, or complying with his Public duty, and to that purpose directing all their endeavours, and forming all their intercourse; whilst every man unwisely thought him whom he found an Enemy to his Enemies, a Friend to all his other Affections; or rather by the narrowness of his understanding, and extent of his passion, contracted all his other affections to that one of Revenge.

And by this means those Emissaries and Agents for the Confusion which was to follow, were furnished with opportunity and art to Entangle all those (and God knows they were a great many) who were transported with those vulgar and vile Considera-

BOOK
II.

A Tumult
about Lambeth House.

tions: cheap, senseless Libels were scattered about the City, and fixed upon Gates and public remarkable places, traducing and vilifying Those who were in highest Trust and Employment: Tumults were raised, and all licence both in actions and words taken; insomuch as a Rabble of mean, unknown, dissolute Persons, to the number of some thousands, attempted the House of the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*, with open profession and protestation, "that they would tear him in pieces;" which (though one of that Rabble, a Sailor, was apprehended and executed in *Southwark* upon an Indictment of High-Treason) was so just a cause of Terror, that the Arch-Bishop, by the King's command, lodged for some days and nights in *White-Hall*; which place likewise was not unthreatened in their seditious meetings and discourses. This infamous, scandalous, headless Insurrection, quashed by the deserved death of that one Varlet, was not thought to be contrived or fomented by any persons of Quality: yet it was discoursed after in the House of Commons by Mr. *Strode* (one of those *Ephori* who most avowed the curbing and suppressing of Majesty) with much pleasure and content; and it was mentioned in the first draught of the first Remonstrance (when the same was brought in by Mr. *Pym*) not without a touch of approbation, which was for that reason somewhat altered, though it still carried nothing of censure upon it in that piece.

Things standing thus both in Court and City, and the *Scots* preparing with great industry for Invasion, and we, at least, for a Defence, on a sudden the

Lord *Lowden* (who before was said to be committed for desiring Protection and Aid from the *French* King, by a Letter under his hand) was discharged from his Imprisonment; without imparting that Resolution to the Council; and after a few days admittance and kind reception at *White-Hall*, was dismissed into *Scotland*; his Authority and Power with that People being as considerable as any man's, and his Conduct as necessary for the enterprises they had in hand. This Stratagem was never understood; and was then variously spoken of: many believing he had undertaken great matters for the King in *Scotland*, and to quiet that Distemper: others, that it was an act entirely compassed by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was like to stand in need of great Supporters, by that extraordinary obligation to endear himself with that Nation; or to Communicate somewhat to that Nation, if his condition before were so good that it needed no endearment. They who published their thoughts least, made no scruple of saying, "that if the policy were good, and necessary of his first Commitment, it seemed as just and prudent to have continued him in that restraint."

The progress in the King's advance for *Scotland*, was exceedingly hindered by the great and dangerous sickness of the Earl of *Northumberland* the General, whose recovery was either totally despaired of by the Physician, or pronounced to be expected very slowly; so that there would be no possibility for him to perform the Service of the North: whereupon he sent to the King, to desire that he would make

B O O K choice of another General. And though the Lord
 II. *Conway* in all his Letters sent advertisement, " that
 " the *Scots* had not advanced their Preparations to
 " that degree that they would be able to march that
 " Year," yet the King had much better Intelligence
 that they were in readiness to move; and so con-
 cluded that it was necessary to send another General;
 and designed the Earl of *Strafford* for that Command.
 and to leave the Forces in *Ireland*, which were raised
 to make a diversion in *Scotland*, to be governed by
 the Earl of *Ormond*. The Earl of *Strafford* was scarce
 recovered from a great sickness, yet was willing to
 undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to
 see how few men were forward to serve the King
 with that vigor of mind they ought to do; but
 knowing well the malicious designs which were con-
 trived against himself, he would rather serve as
 Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Northumber-*
land, than that He should resign his Commission:
 and so, with and under that qualification, he made
 all possible haste towards the North, before he had
 strength enough for the journey.

The Lord
Conway
 routed at
Newburn.

But before he could arrive with the Army, that
 infamous irreparable Rout at *Newburn* was fallen out;
 where the Enemy marched at a time and place, when
 and where they were expected, through a River
 deep though Fordable, and up a Hill, where our
 Army was ranged to receive them: through those
 difficulties and disadvantages, without giving or
 taking any Blows (for the five or six men of ours
 who were killed, fell by their Canon, before the
 passing of the River) they put our whole Army to

the most shameful and confounded Flight that was ever heard of; our Foot making no less haste from *Newcastle*, than our Horse from *Newburn*; both leaving the Honor, and a great deal of the Wealth of the Kingdom, arising from the Coal-mines, to Those who had not confidence enough (notwithstanding the evidence they had seen of our fear) to possess that Town in two days after; not believing it possible that such a place, which was able to have maintained the War alone some time, could be so kindly quitted to them: The Lord *Conway* never after turning his face towards the Enemy, or doing any thing like a Commander, though his Troops were quickly brought together again, without the loss of a dozen men, and were so ashamed of their Flight, that they were very willing as well as able to have taken what Revenge they would upon the Enemy, who were possessed with all the fears imaginable, and would hardly believe their own success, till they were assured that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army rested quietly in *Durham*, and then they presumed to enter into *Newcastle*.

But it seemed afterwards to be a full vindication of the Honor of the Nation, that, from this infamous Defeat at *Newburn*, to the last entire Conquest of *Scotland* by *Cromwell*, the Scots Army scarce performed one signal action against the *English*; but were always beaten by great inequality of numbers as oft as they encountered, if they were not supported by *English* Troops.

In this posture the Earl of *Strafford* found the Army about *Durham*, bringing with him a body much bro-

B O O K
II.

The Scots
Army enter
Newcastle:

B O O K ken with his late sickness, which was not clearly
 II. shaken off, and a mind and temper confessing the
 dregs of it, which being marvellously provoked and
 inflamed with indignation at the late Dishonor, rendered him less gracious, that is, less inclined to make himself so, to the Officers, upon his first entrance into his Charge; it may be, in that mass of disorder, not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the Army against him; and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against Him than against the Enemy; and was willing to have their want of Courage imputed to excess of Conscience, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the Quarrel was the only cause that they Fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts, the Earl found it necessary to retire with the Army to the skirts of *Yorkshire*, and himself to *York* (whither the King was come) leaving *Northumberland* and the Bishopric of *Durham* to be possessed by the Victors; who being abundantly satisfied with what they never hoped to possess, made no haste to advance their new Conquests.

The King's
 Army re-
 treating to-
 wards York.

It was very much wondered at, that the Earl of *Strafford*, upon his first arrival at the Army, called no persons to a Council of War for that shameful business of *Newburn*, or the more shameful quitting of *Newcastle* (where were not ten barrels of Musquet-Bullets, nor Moulds to make any; the Enemy having been long expected there, and our Army not less than a Month in that Town; time enough, if

nothing had been done before, to have made that place tenable for a longer time than it could have been distressed) Whether the Earl saw that it would not have been in His power to have proceeded finally and exemplarily upon that inquisition, and therefore chose rather not to enter upon it; or whether he found the Guilt to be so involved, that though some were more Obnoxious, few were unfaulty; or whether he plainly discerned to what the Whole tended, and so would not trouble himself further in discovering of that, which, instead of a Reproach, might prove a Benefit to the persons concerned; I know not: but public Examination it never had.

The *Scots* needed not now advance their Progress; their Game was in the hands (no prejudice to their skill) of better Gamesters. Besides, they were not to make the least inroad, or to do the least trespass to their Neighbours of *Yorkshire*; who were as solicitous, that by any access or concurrence of the strength of that large County, they should not be driven farther back; and therefore instead of drawing their Trained Bands together (which of themselves would have been a greater or better Army than was to contend with them) to defend their County, or the Person of the King then with them, they prepared Petitions of advice and good counsel to him to call a Parliament, and to remove all other Grievances but the *Scots*. At the same time some Lords from *London* (of known, and since published affections to that Invasion) attended his Majesty at *York* with a Petition, signed by others, eight or ten in the whole, who were craftily persuaded by the

- BOOK 11. Leigers there, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Saint John*, to concur in it, being full of duty and modesty enough; without considering that nothing else at that time could have done mischief; and so suffered themselves to be made Instruments towards those Ends which in truth they abhorred.

In these distractions and discomposures, between an Enemy proud and insolent in Success, an Army corrupted, or at least disheartened, a County mutinous and inclined to the Rebels, at least not inclined to reduce them, and a Court infected with all three, the King could not but find himself in great straits; besides that his Treasure, which had hitherto kept that which was best from being worse, was quite spent. The raising and disbanding the first Army so unfortunately and wretchedly, had cost full three hundred thousand pounds, which the good husbandry of the Ministers of the Revenue had treasured up for an emergent occasion: and the borrowing so much money for the raising and supplying this latter Army, had drawn assignments and anticipations upon the Revenue to that degree, that there was not left wherewithal to defray the necessary expense of the King's Household. A Parliament would not be easily thought of, on this consideration, that it could not come together speedily enough to prevent that mischief to which it should be chiefly applied: for if we were not then in a condition to defend ourselves, in forty days (the soonest a Parliament could meet) an Army clate with Victory, when no Town was fortified, or Pass secured, might run over the Kingdom; especially the People being every where so like to bid them welcome.

A new Invention (not before heard of, that is, so old, that it had not been practised in some hundreds of Years) was thought of, to call a great Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majesty at *York*, that by their advice that great Affair might be the more prosperously managed. Whether it was then conceived, that the Honor of the King and Kingdom being so visibly upon the Stake, those Branches of Honor, which could not out-live the Root, would undoubtedly rescue and preserve it; or whether it was believed, that upon so extraordinary an occasion the Peers would suffice to raise money; as it was in that meeting proposed by one of them, "that They might give Subsidies:," Whether the advice was given by those who had not the confidence in plain terms to propose a Parliament, but were confident that would produce one; or whether a Parliament was then resolved on, and They called to be obliged by it, and so to be obliged to some sober undertaking in it; or what other ground or intention there was of that Council, was never known: or whether indeed it was resolved out of trouble and agony of afflicted thoughts, because no other way occurred: But such a Resolution was taken, and Writs immediately issued under the Great Seal of *England* to all the Peers to attend his Majesty at *York* within twenty days; and preparations were made in all places accordingly.

Whilst the Lords are on their way thither, it will not be amiss to consider the general state of affairs in that time, and the Persons to whom the managing the Public Business was principally then, and for

B O O K
II.

A great Council
of the Peers
summoned to
York.

The State of
affairs at
Court at that
time.

B O O K

II.

some time had been intrusted; that so upon view of the materials, we may be the better enabled to guess how those dexterous work-men were like to employ themselves. It hath been said already, that upon the Dissolution of the Parliament but four months before, the Lords of the Council bestirred themselves in levying the Ship-money, and lending great sums of Money for the War

The Convocation continued after the Parliament: makes Canons.

The Convocation-House (the regular and legal assembling of the Clergy) customarily beginning and ending with Parliaments, was, after the determination of the last, by a new Writ continued, and sat for the space of above a month under the proper title of a Synod; made Canons, which was thought it might do, and gave Subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined Oaths, which certainly it might Not do: in a word, did many things which in the best of times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst (what fuel it was to the fire that ensued, shall be mentioned in its place) and drew the same Prejudice upon the whole body of the Clergy, to which before only some few Clergy-men were exposed.

The Papists activity and boldness about that time.

The Papists had for many Years enjoyed a great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the Severest parts of the Law, and dispensed with for the Genesick; and were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the Law. They were looked upon as good Subjects at Court, and as good Neighbours in the Country; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not

prudent managers of this Prosperity, being too elate and transported with the Protection and Connivance they received: though I am persuaded their Numbers increased not, their Pomp and Boldness did, to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the State, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged Conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they resorted at common hours to Mass to *Somerſet* Houſe, and returned thence in great multitudes, with the ſame barefacedneſs as others came from the *Savoy* or other neighbour Churches: they attempted and ſometimes obtained Proſelytes of weak uninformed Ladies, with ſuch circumſtances as provoked the Rage, and deſtroyed the Charity of great and powerful Families, which longed for their Suppreſſion: they grew not only ſecret Contrivers, but public profeſſed Promoters of, and Miniſters in, the moſt odious, and the moſt grievous Projects: as in that of Soap, formed, framed, and executed, by almoſt a Corporation of that Religion; which under that licence and notion, might be, and were ſuſpected to be, qualified for other agitations. The Prieſts, and ſuch as were in Orders (Orders that in themſelves were puniſhable by Death) were departed from their former modeſty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; inſomuch as a Jeſuit at *Paris* who was coming for *England*, had the boldneſs to viſit the Ambaſſador there, who knew him to be ſuch, and offering his ſervice, acquainted him with his Journey, as if there had been no Laws There for his reception. And for the moſt invidious Protection and Counten-

- BOOK II. ance of that whole Party, a Public Agent from *Rome* (first Mr. *Con* a *Scottish* man, and after him the Count of *Rozetti* an *Italian*) resided at *London* in great Port; publicly visited the Court; and was avowedly resorted to by the Catholics of all conditions, over whom he assumed a particular jurisdiction; and was cared for and presented magnificently by the Ladies of Honor who inclined to that Profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made Public Collections of Money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the Queen, and to be by her Majesty presented as a free-will-offering from his Roman-Catholic Subjects to the King, for the carrying on the War against the *Scots*; which drew upon Them the rage of that Nation, with little devotion and reverence to the Queen herself; as if She desired to suppress the Protestant Religion in one Kingdom as well as the other, by the Arms of the Roman Catholics. To conclude, they carried themselves so, as if they had been suborned by the *Scots* to root out their Own Religion.

The persons then composing the Committee of State;

The bulk and burden of the State-affairs, whereby the Envy attended them likewise, lay principally upon the shoulders of the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*; some others being joined to them, as the Earl of *Northumberland* for ornament, the Lord Bishop of *London* for his place, being Lord high Treasurer of *England*, the two Secretaries, Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Francis Windebank*, for service and communication of Intelligence; only the Marquis of *Hamilton* indeed,

indeed, by his skill and interest, bore as great a part as he had a mind to do, and had the skill to meddle no farther than he had a mind. These Persons made up the Committee of State (which was reproachfully after called *the Juncto*, and enviously then in the Court *the Cabinet-Council*) who were upon all occasions, when the Secretaries received any extraordinary Intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary Despatch, or as often otherwise as was thought fit, to meet: whereas the Body of the Council observed set days and hours for Their meeting, and came not else together except specially summoned.

But, as I said before, the Weight and the Envy of all great matters rested upon the three first. The Arch-Bishop, besides the sole disposal of whatsoever concerned the Church, which was an invidious province, having been from the death of the Earl of *Portland* (at which time he was made Commissioner of the Treasury) more engaged in the Civil business than I am persuaded he desired to be; and throughout the whole business passionately concerned for the Church of *Scotland*, and so, conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourdy quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him; a more than ordinary Prejudice and Uncharitableness was contracted against him; to which the new Canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

The Earl of *Strafford* had for the space of almost six Years entirely governed *Ireland*, where he had

BOOK II. been compelled, upon reason of State, to exercise many acts of Power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Mount Norris; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of Sovereignty, that in a time of Peace had been ever executed by any Subject. When and why he was called out of *Ireland* to assist in Council here, I have touched before. He was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of Ceremony to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not but have Enemies enough: he had Two that professed it, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sir *Henry Vane*; the first could never forget or forgive a sharp sudden Saying of his (for I cannot call it Counsel or Advice) when there had been some difference a few years before between his Lordship and the Lord *Weston*, in the managing whereof the Earl of *Holland* was confined to his House, "That the King should do well to cut off his head:" which had been aggravated (if such an injury were capable of aggravation) by a succession of Discourtenances mutually performed between them to that time. Sir *Henry Vane* had not far to look back to the time that the Earl had with great earnestness opposed his being made Secretary, and prevailed for above a month's delay; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the Earl, on the behalf of an old Fellow-servant, and his very good Friend Sir *John Coke* (who was to be, and after-

wards was, removed to let Him in) yet the justice to the One, lessened not the sense of unkindness to the Other: after which, or about the same time (which it may be made the other to be the more virulently remembered) being to be made Earl of *Strafford*, he would needs in that Patent have a new creation of a Barony, and was made Baron of *Raby*, a House belonging to Sir *Henry Vane*, and an Honor he made account should belong to himself; which was an act of the most unnecessary provocation (though he contemned the man with marvellous scorn) that I have known, and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head. To these a Third adversary (like to be more pernicious than the other Two) was added, the Earl of *Essex*, naturally enough disinclined to his Person, his Power, and his Parts, upon some rough carriage of the Earl of *Strafford's* towards the late Earl of *Saint Albans*, to whom he had a friendship, and therefore openly professed to be revenged. Lastly, he had an Enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole *Scottish* Nation, provoked by the Declaration he had procured of *Ireland*, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that Kingdom. So that He had reason to expect as hard measure from such Popular Councils as he saw were like to be in request, as all those Disadvantages could create towards him. And yet no doubt his confidence was so great in Himself, and in the form of Justice (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded) that he never apprehended a greater censure than a Sequestration from all Public

B O O K Employments, in which it is probable he had abundant
II. satiety : and this confidence could not have proceeded
 (considering the full knowledge he had of his Judges)
 but from a proportionable stock of , and satisfaction
 in, his own Innocence.

**The Lord
 Cottington**

The Lord *Cottington*, though he was a very wise man , yet having spent the greatest part of his Life in *Spain*, and so having been always subject to the unpopular imputation of being of the *Spanish* Faction , indeed was better skilled to make his Master great abroad , than gracious at home ; and being Chancellor of the Exchequer from the time of the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year , had his hand in many hard shifts for Money ; and had the disadvantage of being suspected at least a Favourer of the Papists (though that Religion thought itself nothing beholding to him) by which he was in great umbrage with the People : and then though he were much less hated than either of the other two, and the less, because there was nothing of kindness between the Arch-Bishop and him ; and indeed very few particulars of moment could be proved against him : yet there were two objections against him , which rendered him as odious as any to the great Reformers ; the one , that he was not to be reconciled to or made use of in any of their designs ; the other , that he had two good Offices , without the having of which their Reformation could not be perfect : for besides being Chancellor of the Exchequer , he was likewise Master of the Wards , and had raised the Revenue of that Court to the King to be much greater than it had ever been before His

administration; by which Husbandry all the rich Families of *England*, of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even ind devoted to the Crown, looking upon what the Law had intended for their Preservation, to be now applied to their Destruction; and therefore resolved to take the first opportunity to ravish that Jewel out of the Royal Diadem, though it were fastened There by the known Law, upon as unquestionable a Right, as the Subject enjoyed any thing that was most his Own.

The Marquis of *Hamilton*, if he had been then weighed in the Scales of the People's hatred, was at that time thought to be in greater danger than any one of the other; for he had more Enemies, and fewer Friends, in Court or Country, than any of the other. His interest in the King's affection was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any man's; and he had received as invidious instances, and marks of those affections. He had more out-faced the Law in bold Projects and Pressures upon the People, than any other man durst have presumed to do, as especially in the projects of Wine and Iron; about the last of which, and the most gross, he had a sharp contest with the Lord *Coventry* (who was a good Wrestler too) and at last compelled him to let it pass the Seal: the entire profit of which always reverted to Himself, and to such as were his Pensioners. He had been the sole manager of the business of *Scotland* till the Pacification; the readiest man, though Then absent, to advise that Pacification, and the most visible Author of the breach of it. Lastly, the Discoveries between

B O O K
II.

The Marquis
of Hamilton.

B O O K the Lord *Mackey* and *David Ramsay*, by which the
 11. Marquis was accused of designing to make himself
 King of *Scotland*, were fresh in many men's memories,
 and the late passages in that Kingdom had revived it
 in others; so that He might reasonably have expected
 as ill a presage for himself from those Fortune-tellers,
 as the most Melancholic of the other: but as he
 had been always most careful and solicitous for Him-
 self, so he was most likely to be apprehensive on
 his Own behalf, and to provide accordingly.

And here I cannot omit a Story which I received
 from a very good hand, by which his great subtilty
 and industry for himself may appear. and was indeed
 as great a piece of Art (if it were Art) as I believe
 will be found amongst the modern Politicians. After
 the calling the Council of the Peers at *York* was re-
 solved upon, and a little before the time of their
 appearance, the Marquis came to the King, and
 with some cloudiness (which was not unnatural) and
 trouble in his countenance, he desired his Majesty
 to give him leave to Travel; the King surpris'd was
 equally troubled at it, and demanded his reason:
 he told him, "He well foresaw a Storm, in which His
 " shipwreck was most probable amongst others; and
 " that he, never having any thing before his eyes
 " but his Majesty's Service, or in his vows, but an
 " entire simple obedience to His commands, might
 " happily by his Own unskilfulness in what was fit by
 " any other rule, be more obnoxious than other men;
 " and therefore, that with his Majesty's leave, he
 " would withdraw himself from the hazard at least of
 " that Tempest." The King, most graciously inclin'd
 to him, bid him " be most confident, that though he

“ might (which he was resolved to do) gratify his People with any reasonable Indulgence, he would never fail his good Servants in that protection which they had equal reason to expect from him.” The Marquis with some quickness replied, “ that the knowledge of that gracious disposition in his Majesty, was the principal cause that he besought leave to be absent ; and that otherwise he would not so far desert his own Innocence, which he was sure could be only sullied and discredited with Infirmities and Indiscretions, not tainted or defaced with Design and Malice.” But (said he) “ I know your Majesty’s goodness will interpose for me to your Own prejudice: and I will rather run any Fortune, from whence I may again return to serve you, than be (as I foresee I should be) so immediate a cause of damage and mischief to so Royal a Master.” He told him, “ that he knew there were no less fatal Arrows aimed at the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford* than at himself; and that he had advertised the first, and advised the last, to take the same course of withdrawing, whereby he meant to secure himself: but (he said) the Earl was too great-hearted to Fear, and he doubted the other was too bold to Fly.”

The King was much disturbed with the probability and reason of what was said; which the other as soon observing, “ There is (said he) one way by which I might secure myself without leaving the Kingdom, and by which your Majesty, as these times are like to go, might receive some advantage; but it is so contrary to my Nature, and

B O O K

II.

" will be so scandalous to my Honor in the opinion
 " of men, that, for my own part, I had rather run my
 " Fortune." His Majesty, glad that such an expedient
 might be found (as being unwilling to hazard his
 Safety against so much reason as had been spoken, by
 compelling him to stay; and as unwilling, by suffering
 him to go, to confess an apprehension that he might
 be imposed upon) impatiently asked " What that way
 " was ?" The Marquis replied, " That he might
 " endear himself to the other Party by promising his
 " Service to them, and seeming to concur with
 " them in Opinions and Designs; the which he had
 " reason to believe the principal Persons would not
 " be averse to, in hope that his supposed interest in
 " his Majesty's opinion might be looked upon as of
 " moment to them for their particular Recommenda-
 " tions. But, he said, this he knew would be looked
 " upon with so much Jealousy by other men, and
 " shortly with that Reproach, that he might by
 " degrees be lessened even in his Majesty's own trust;
 " and therefore it was a province he had no mind
 " to undertake;" and so renewed his Suit again very
 earnestly for leave to Travel.

The King for the reasons aforesaid, much delighted
 with this Expedient, and believing likewise, that
 in truth he might by this means frequently receive
 Informations of great use, and having a singular
 esteem of the Fidelity and Affection of the Marquis,
 told him positively, " That he should not leave him;
 " that he was not only contented, but commanded
 " him to Ingratiate himself by any means with the
 " other People;" and assured him " that it should
 " not be in any body's power to infuse the least

“ jealousy of him into his Royal breast.” The which resolution his Majesty observed so constantly, that the other enjoyed the liberty of doing whatsoever he found necessary for his own behoof; and with wonderful craft and low condescensions to the ends and the appetites of very inferior people, and by seasonable insinuations to several leading persons (of how different inclinations soever) of such particulars as were grateful to them, and seemed to advance their distinct and even contrary Interests and Pretences, he grew to have no less credit in the Parliament than with the *Scottish* Commissioners; and was with great vigilance, industry, and dexterity, preserved from any Public Reproach in those charges which served to ruin other men, and which with more reason and justice might have been applied to Him than any other; and yet for a long time he did not incur the jealousy of the King; to whom he likewise gave many advertisements, which if there had been persons enough who would have concurred in prevention, might have proved of great use.

In this state and condition were Things and Persons when the Lords came to *York* to the great Council in *September*; and the first day of their meeting (that the counsel might not seem to arise from them who were resolved to give it, and that the Queen might receive the honor of it; who, the King said, had by a Letter advised him to it; as his Majesty exceedingly desired to endear her to the People) the King declared to them, “ that he was resolved to call a Parliament to assemble at *Westminster* the third day of *November* following; which was as soon as was

B O O K
II.

The King declares to the great Council at York his resolution to call a Parliament.

BOOK II. "possible." So the first work was done to their hands, and they had now nothing to do but to dispose matters in order against that time. which could not well be done without a more overt conversation with the *Scots*. For though there was an intercourse made, yet it passed for the most part through hands whom the chief had no mind to trust: as the Lord *Savile*; whom his bitter hatred to the Earl of *Strafford*; and as passionate hope of the Presidentship of the North, which the Earl had made applicable to any end; but otherwise a person of so ill a fame, that many desired not to mingle in counsels with him. For, besides his no reputation, they begun now to know that he had no long held correspondence with the *Scots* before their coming in, and invited them to enter the Kingdom with an Army; in order to which, and to raise his own credit, he had counterfeited the hands of some other Lords, and put their names to some undertakings of joining with the *Scots*; and therefore they were resolved to take that negotiation out of his hands (without drawing any prejudice upon him for his presumption) which they had quickly an opportunity to do. For the first day of the Lords meeting, a Petition is presented to his Majesty full of dutiful and humble expressions from the *Scots*, who well knew their time, and had always (how rough and undutiful soever their Actions were) given the King as good and as submissive Words as can be imagined. This Petition, full of as much Submission as a Victory itself could produce (as urged by some lords) could not but beget a Treaty, and a Treaty was resolved on speedily to be at *Rippon*, a place in the King's

The Scots Petition the King: upon it a Treaty appointed at Rippon.

Quarters: but then, special care was taken, by caution given to his Majesty, that no such ungracious persons might be intrusted by him in this Treaty as might beget Jealousies in the *Scots*, and so render it fruitless: and therefore the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Essex*, *Holland*, *Bristol*, and *Berkshire*; The Lords *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Dunsmore*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Paulet*, *Howard* of *Esrick* (the Lord *Say* being sick, and so not present at *York*) were chosen by the King; all Popular men, and not one of them of much interest in the Court, but only the Earl of *Holland*, who was known to be fit for any counsel that should be taken against the Earl of *Strafford*, who had among them scarce a Friend or person civilly inclined towards him.

When these Commissioners from the King arrived at *Rippon*, there came others from the *Scots* Army of a quality much inferior, there being not above two noblemen, whereof the Lord *Lowden* was the chief, two or three Gentlemen and Citizens; and *Alexander Henderson* their Metropolitan, and two or three other Clergy-men. The *Scots* applied themselves most particularly to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*, though in public they seemed equally to caress them all; and besides the duty they professed to the King in the most submissive expressions of reverence that could be used, they made great and voluminous expressions "of their affections to the Kingdom and People of *England*; and remembered the infinite obligations they had from time to time received from this Nation; especially the assistance they had

B O O K
II.

The Commis-
sioners meet
and transact.

B O O K

II.

“ from it in their reformation of Religion, and
 “ their attaining the light of the Gospel; and there-
 “ fore as it could never fall into Their hearts to
 “ be ungrateful to it, so they hoped that the good
 “ People of *England* would not entertain any ill
 “ opinion of their coming into this Kingdom at
 “ this time in a Hostile manner, as if they had
 “ the least purpose of doing wrong to any parti-
 “ cular person, much less to alter any thing in the
 “ Government of the Kingdom; protesting that they
 “ had the same tenderness of Their Laws and Li-
 “ berties, and Privileges, as of their Own; and
 “ that they did hope, as the Oppressions upon
 “ their native Country, both in their Civil and
 “ Spiritual Rights, had obliged them to This man-
 “ ner of Address to the King, to whom all access
 “ had been denied them by the power of their En-
 “ mies; so, that this very manner of their coming
 “ in might be for the good of this Kingdom, and
 “ the benefit of the Subjects thereof, in the giving
 “ them opportunities to vindicate their own Li-
 “ berties and Laws; which, though not Yet so
 “ much invaded as those of *Scotland* had been, were
 “ enough infringed by Those very men who had
 “ brought so great Misery and Confusion upon
 “ that Kingdom; and who intended, when they
 “ had finished their work There, and in *Ireland*,
 “ to establish the same slavery in *England* as they
 “ had brought upon the other two Kingdoms. All
 “ which would be prevented by the Removal of
 “ three or four Persons from about the King;
 “ whose Own gracious disposition and inclination

“ would bountifully provide for the Happiness of
“ all his Dominions, if Those ill men had no influ-
“ ence upon his Counsels.”

B O O K

II.

There was not a man of all the *English* Commissioners to whom this kind of discourse was not grateful enough, and who did not promise to Himself some convenience that the Alterations which were like to happen might produce. And with those Lords with whom they desired to enter into a greater confidence, they conferred more openly and particularly, of the three Persons towards whom their greatest prejudice was, the Arch-Bishop, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton* (for in their whole discourses they seemed equally at least incensed against Him, as against either of the other two) whom they resolved should be removed from the King. They spake in confidence “ of the
“ excess of the Queen’s power, which in respect
“ of her Religion, and of the Persons who had
“ most interest in her, ought not to prevail so much
“ upon the King as it did in all Affairs. That the
“ King could never be happy, nor his Kingdom
“ flourish, till he had such Persons about him in
“ all Places of trust, as were of Honor and Experience in affairs, and of good Fortunes and Interests in the affections of the People; who would
“ always inform his Majesty that his own greatness
“ and happiness consisted in the execution of Justice,
“ and the happiness of his Subjects; and who are
“ known to be zealous for the preservation and
“ advancement of the Protestant Religion, which
“ every honest man thought at present to be in

BOOK II. “ great danger, by the exorbitant power of the
 “ Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and some other Bishops
 “ who were governed by him.” It was no hard
 matter to insinuate into the Persons with whom
 they held this discourse, that They were the very
 men who they wished should be in most credit about
 the King; and they concluded that their affections
 were so great to this Kingdom, and they so desired
 that all Grievances might be redressed here, that
 though they should receive present Satisfaction in
 all that concerned Themselves, they would not yet
 return, till provision might likewise be made for
 the just interest of *England*, and the reformation
 of what was amiss There in reference to Church
 and State.

This appeared so hopeful a Model to most of
 the King's Commissioners (who having no method
 prescribed to them to treat in, were indeed sent
 only to hear what the *Scots* would propose, the
 King himself then intending to determine what should
 be granted to them) they never considered the Truth
 of any of their allegations, nor desired to be in-
 formed of the Ground of their proceedings; but
 patiently hearkened to all they said in public, of
 which they intended to give an account to the
 King; and willingly heard all they said in private,
 and made such use of it as they thought most con-
 duced to their own ends. The *Scottish* Commissioners
 proposed, “ that for the avoiding the effusion of
 “ Christian blood, there might be some way found
 “ to prevent all acts of Hostility on either side;
 “ which could not possibly be done, except some

‘ order was given for the payment of Their Army, B O O K
 “ which was yet restrained to close and narrow 11.
 “ Quarters. And the truth is, they were in daily
 fear that those Quarters would have been beaten
 up, and so the ill courage of their men too easily
 discovered, who were more taught to sing Psalms,
 and to Pray, than to use their Arms; their hopes
 of prevailing being, from the beginning, founded
 upon an assurance that they should not be put to
 Fight.

There had been in that infamous rout at *Newburn*
 two or three Officers of Quality taken Prisoners,
 who endeavouring to charge the Enemy with the
 courage they ought to do, being deserted by their
 Troops could not avoid falling into the *Scots* hands;
 two of which were *Wilmot*, who was Commissary-
 General of the Horse, and *O Neal* who was Major
 of a Regiment; both Officers of name and reputa-
 tion, and of good esteem in the Court with all
 Those who were incensed against the Earl of *Straf-*
ford, towards whom they were both very indevoted.
 These Gentlemen were well known to several of the
 principal Commanders in the *Scots* Army (who had
 served together with them in *Holland* under the
 Prince of *Orange*) and were treated with great civi-
 lity in their Camp; and when the Commissioners
 came to *Rippon*, they brought them with them,
 and presented them to the King by his Commis-
 sioners, to whom they were very acceptable; and
 did those who delivered them more Service by the
 Reports they made of them in the Army when they
 returned to their Charges, and in the Court, than
 they could have done by remaining Prisoners with

B O O K them; and contributed very much to the irreconciling the Army to the Earl of *Strafford*, who was to command it.

IL

After few days the Commissioners returned to the King at *York*, and gave him an account of what had passed, and of the extraordinary affection of the *Scots* to his Majesty's Service; and *Wilmot* and *O-Neal* magnified the good discipline and order observed in the Army, and made their numbers to be believed much superior to what in truth they were.

The Coun-
sellors about
the King at
York.

Three of the Commissioners, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, who were all inspired by the *Scots*, and liked well all that they pretended to desire. Besides those, the King had no body to consult with but the Lord Keeper *Finch*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Sir *Harry Vane* principal Secretary of State. The first of which, the Lord Keeper, was obnoxious to so many reproaches, that though his affection and fidelity was very entire to the King, all his care was to provoke no more Enemies, and to ingratiate himself to as many of those as he perceived were like to be able to protect him, which he knew the King would not be able to do; and towards this he labored with all industry and dexterity. The Duke of *Richmond* was young, and used to discourse with his Majesty in his Bed-chamber rather than at the Council-Board, and a man of Honor and fidelity in all places; and in no degree of confidence with his Country-men, because he would not admit himself into any of their Intrigues. The
Marquis

Marquis had leave to be wary, and would give his Enemies no new advantages. B O O K
II.

Nor indeed was there any man's advice of much credit with the King, but that of the Earl of *Strafford*; who had no reason to declare his opinion upon so nice a subject in the presence of the Earl of *Holland* and Sir *Harry Vane*; and thought there was only one way to be pursued (which was not to be Communicated at the Council) and that was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the Army: and without considering what was done at the Treaty (which had not yet agreed upon any Cessation) he sent a good Party of Horse, commanded by Major *Smith*, to fall upon a *Scottish* Quarter in the Bishopric of *Durham*; who defeated two or three of their Troops, and took all their Officers Prisoners, and made it manifest enough that the Kingdom might be rid of the rest, if it were vigorously pursued; which the Earl of *Strafford* heartily intended. But *Lesly*, the *Scottish* General, complained "that He himself had " forborn to make any such attempt out of respect " to the Treaty;" and the *English* Commissioners thought Themselves neglected, and affronted by it. And when it was found that his Officer who conducted that Enterprize was a Roman-Catholic, it made more noise; and they prevailed with the King to restrain his General from giving out any more such Orders.

The King begun so far to dislike the temper of the Commissioners, that he thought the Parliament would be more jealous of his Honor, and more sen-
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B O O K II. fible of the Indignities he suffered by the *Scots*, than the Commissioners appeared to be; and therefore he sent them back to *Rippon* again to renew the Treaty, and to conclude a Cessation of Arms upon as good terms as they could; so that the *Scots* Army might not advance into *Yorkshire*, nor enlarge their Quarters any way beyond what they were already possessed of: and this concession being agreed to, they should not enter upon any other particulars, but adjourn the Treaty to *London*; which was the only thing the *Scots* desired, and without This they could never have brought their designs to pass. When the other Lords returned to *Rippon*, the Earl of *Pembroke* (as a man of a great Fortune, and at that time very Popular) was sent with two or three other Lords to *London*, with a Letter from the King, and a subscription from the Lords Commissioners of the Treaty (which was then more powerful) to borrow two hundred thousand pounds from the City, for the payment of both Armies whilst the Cessation and Treaty should continue; "which they hoped would quickly be at an end, and the *Scots* return into their own Country." The City was easily persuaded to furnish the Money, to be repaid out of the first that should be raised by the Parliament; which was very shortly to meet.

A Cessation
agreed on.

The Commissioners at *Rippon* quickly agreed upon the Cessation; and were not unwilling to have allowed fifty thousand pounds a month for the support of the *Scots* Army, when they did assign but thirty thousand pounds a month for the payment of the King's; and to have taken the *Scottish* Commis-

fioners words for their Musters, which made their numbers so much superior to the other: but that sum of fifty thousand pounds a month was afterwards reduced to about five-and-twenty thousand; and the whole amounting to above fifty thousand pounds a month, was a sum too great for the Kingdom to pay long, as was then generally believed. It was pretended that two months would put an end to the Treaty; so that the two hundred thousand pounds, which the City had supplied, would discharge all the Disbanding; and in this hope the King confirmed the Cessation, and sent a safe Conduct for such Commissioners as the Scots should think fit to send to *London* for the carrying on the Treaty.

The Treaty
adjourned to
London,
whither the
King returns.

All which being done, the King and the Lords left *York*, that they might be at *London* before the beginning of the Parliament; the Earl of *Strafford* staying still in the North to put the Army into as good a posture as he could, and to suppress the Mutinous spirit it was inclined to; and if it were possible, to dispose that great County (of which he had the entire Command) to a better temper towards the King's Service, and to a greater indignation towards the Scots; of whom they did not use to have too charitable an opinion. But in both these applications he underwent great mortifications; the Officers of the Army every day asking his leave to repair to *London*, being chosen to serve in Parliament; and when he denied to give them Passes, they went away without them: and the Gentleman of the Country who had most depended upon him, and been obliged by him,

- BOOK II. withdrawing their application and attendance, and entering into Combination with his greatest Enemies against him.

It is not to be denied, the King was in very great Straits, and had it not in his power absolutely to chuse which way he would go; and well foresaw, that a Parliament in that conjuncture of affairs would not apply natural and proper Remedies to the Disease: for though it was not imaginable it would run the courses if afterwards did, yet it was visible enough he must resign very much to their affections and appetite (which were not like to be contained within any modest bounds) and therefore no question his Majesty did not think of calling a Parliament at first, but was wrought to it by degrees: Yet the great Council could not but produce the other; where the unskilfulness and passion of some for want of discerning Consequences, and a general sharpness and animosity against Persons, did more mischief than the power or malice of Those who had a formed design of Confusion: for without doubt that Fire at that time (which did shortly after burn the whole Kingdom) might have been covered under a bushel. So as in truth there was no Counsel so necessary then, as for the King to have continued in his Army, and to have drawn none thither but such as were more afraid of dishonor than danger; and to have trusted the Justice and Power of the Law with suppressing of Tumults, and quieting Disorders in his Rear.

It is strange, and had somewhat of a Judgment from Heaven in it, that all the Industry and Learning

of the late years had been bestowed in finding out B O O K
and evincing, that in case of Necessity any extraor- II,
dinary way for Supply was Lawful; and upon that
ground had proceeded when there was no Necessity;
and now when the Necessity was apparent, Money
must be levied in the ordinary course of Parliament,
which was then more extraordinary than the other
had been; as *York* must be defended from an Enemy
within twenty-five miles of it, by Money to be given
at *London* six Weeks after, and to be gathered within
six Months. It had been only the season and evi-
dence of Necessity that had been questioned; and
the view of it in a Perspective of State at a distance
that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough
for an Imposition: as no man could pull down his
Neighbour's house because it stood next Furze, or
Thatch, or some combustible matter which might
take fire; though he might do it when that combus-
tible matter was really a-fire. But it was never de-
nied that *flagrante bello*, when an Enemy had actually
invaded the Kingdom, and so the Necessity both
seen and felt, all men's goods are the goods of the
Public, to be applied to the Public safety, and as
carefully to be repaired by the Public stock. And
it is very probable (since the Factions within, and
the Correspondence abroad was so apparent, that a
Parliament then called would do the business of the
Scots, and of Those who invited them hither) that
if the King had positively declared, that he would
have no Parliament as long as that Army staid in
England, but as soon as they were retired into their

B O O K own Country He would Summon one, and refer
 II. all matters to Their advice, and even be advised
 by Them in the composing the distractions of *Scotland*: I say, it is probable, that they would either
 willingly have left the Kingdom, or speedily have
 been compelled; there being at that time an Army
 in *Ireland* (as was said before) ready to have visited
Scotland.

Neither would the Indisposition of the King's
 Army (which was begot only by those insuſions,
 that there muſt of neceſſity be a Parliament, which
 would prevent farther Fighting) have laſted, when
 they found thoſe Authors confuted; for the Army
 was conſtituted of good Officers, which were more
 capable of being deceived by their Friends, than
 impoſed upon by their Enemies; and they had their
 Soldiers in good devotion, and the buſineſs of
Newburn would rather have ſpurred them on than
 reſtrained them. And it had been much the beſt
 courſe that could have been taken, if, after the fright
 at *Newburn*, the King as well as the Earl of *Strafford*
 had made haſte to *Durham*, and kept that Poſt, with-
 out ſtaying at *York*; and after ſome exemplary Juſtice
 and Diſgrace upon the chief Officers who were
 Faulty, till the Army had recovered their Spirits
 (which in a very ſhort time it did with ſhame and
 indignation enough) had marched directly againſt
 the *Scots*; by which they would have ſpeedily diſ-
 poſſeſſed them of their new Conqueſt, and forced
 them to have run diſtracted into their own Coun-
 try; as may be reaſonably concluded from their

behaviour whenever they were assaulted afterwards B O O K
II.
by the *English*.

And it is as strange that the experience of the last Summer, when the attendance of so great a number of the Nobility (who had no mind to the War, and as little devotion to the Court) was the true ground and cause of that ridiculous Pacification, did not prevail with the King never to Convene the same company to him again; which could do him very little good if they had desired it; and could not but do him more harm than even the worst of them at that time intended to do: For it might very easily have been foreseen, that the calling so many discontented, or disobliged, or disaffected men together, with a liberty to consult and advise, very few whereof had that inclination and reverence for the Person of the King they ought to have had, though scarce any of them had at that time that mischief in their hearts which they afterwards discovered against him, or indeed had the least purpose to Rebel: I say the calling such men together, could not but make men much worse than they came, and put worse thoughts into their heads than they brought with them, when the Miscarriage as well as the Misfortune of the Court would be the common argument and discourse; and when they would quickly discern, that it was like to be in every one of Their powers to contribute to the Destruction, at least to the Disgrace of Men they had no kindness for, and most of them great animosity against.

But the King was without the presence and attend-

B O O K II. ance of any Man in whose Judgment and Wisdom he had a full confidence; for the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Army; and they who first proposed the calling the Peers, knew well enough that the King knew Parliaments too well to be inclined to call one if they should propose it; and therefore They proposed another expedient, which he knew not; and so was surpris'd with the advice (which he thought could do no harm) and gave direction for the issuing out of the Writs, before he enough considered whether it might not in truth produce some mischief he had not well thought of; as he quickly found. Nor did the *Scots* themselves resolve to give him more disquiet in the ensuing Parliament, than the major part of his great Council that he brought together resolv'd to concur with them in: and with that disposition, which they could never have contracted if they had remained by themselves, they all hasten'd to the place where they might do the Mischief they intended.

The next Error to this was, that at the meeting of the great Council at *York*, and before any consent to the Treaty at *Rippon*, there was not a state made, and information given of the whole Proceedings in *Scotland*, and thereupon some debate and judgment by the whole Council before the Sixteen departed, for their information and instruction: and this had been strangely omitted before at the Pacification, inasmuch as many who had been employed in that first at *the Berkes*, and in the last at *Rippon*; confessed that none of them (and they were of the Prime Quality) then did, or ever after, know any

thing of the Laws and Customs of that Kingdom (by which they might have judged whether the King had exceeded his just power, or any thing of the matter of Fact in the several transactions) but what they had received at those meetings from the Persons who were naturally to make their own defence, and so by accusing others to make their own case the more plausible; in which could not be expected they would mention any thing to their own disadvantage.

By Them they were told "of a Liturgy imposed upon them by their Bishops, contrary to, or without Act of Parliament, with strange circumstances of Severity and Rigor: of some clauses in that Liturgy, different from that of the Church of *England*;" with pretty smart Comments of advice, and Animadversions upon those Alterations: "of a Book of Canons, in which an extraordinary and extravagant power was asserted to the Bishops: of a High-Commission-Court, which exceeded all limits, and censured all degrees of men: of the insolent Speeches of this Bishop to that Nobleman, and of the ill Life of another: of their Own great Humility and Duty to their sacred Sovereign, without whose Favor and Protection they would not live:" and lastly, "of their several most submissive Addresses, by Petition and all other ways to his Majesty; being desirous, when their Grievances were but heard, to lay Themselves and their Complaints at his Royal Feet, and to be most entirely disposed by him in such manner, as to His wisdom alone should be

- B O O K II. "thought fit: but that by the power and interpo-
 sition of their Adversaries, all their Supplications
 had been rejected, and They never yet admitted
 to be heard."

With these and the like Artifices the good Lords were so wrought upon, and transported, that they easily Consented to whatsoever was proposed; nor was there any Proposition made and insisted on by them at the first or second Treaty, which was not for the matter fully Consented to: whereas, if their Lordships had been fully advertised of the whole truth (though there had been some Inadvertencies and Incogitancy in the circumstances of the transaction) his Majesty had full power, by the Laws of *Scotland* then in force, to make that Reformation he intended. All their Petitions and Addresses had found most gracious acceptance, and received most gracious Answers. But on the contrary, They had invaded all the Rights of the Crown, altered the Government, affronted the Magistrates and Ministers of Justice, and his Majesty's own Regal Authority, with unheard of Insolences and Contempts; rejected all his offers of Grace and Pardon, and without cause or provocation denounced War against him; besieged and taken the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and other Places which held for his Majesty. I say, if This had been made as evident to them as surely it might have been made, it is not possible but those Noble persons would have preserved themselves from being deluded by them; at least many of the Inconveniencies which after ensued would have been prevented, if the form and

method of their Proceedings had been prescribed, B O O K
or better looked into. II.

But it must be confessed, that in that conjuncture such necessary Evidence and Information could very hardly be given: for though it must not be doubted that there were many particular Persons of Honor of that Nation who abhorred the Outrages which were committed, and retained within their own breasts very Loyal wishes for his Majesty's Prosperity; yet it cannot be denied that those persons, who by the Places they held (of King's Advocate, and other Offices) ought to have made that Information of matter of Law, and matter of Fact, were Themselves the most active Promoters of the Rebellion; and the Defection was so general, and so few declared, or were active on his Majesty's behalf, that they who were not corrupted in their inward Fidelity, were so Terrified, that they durst not appear in any Office that might provoke Those who solely had the power and the will to destroy them.

The last and most confounding Error was the removing the Treaty to *London*, and upon any terms consenting that the *Scottish* Commissioners should reside there before a Peace concluded. By which means, they had not only opportunity to publish all their Counsels and Directions in their Sermons to the People (who resorted thither in incredible numbers) and to give their Advice, from time to time, to Those of the *English* who knew not so well yet to compass their Own ends, but were ready (when any business was too big and unwieldy

B O O K to be managed by the few who were yet thoroughly engaged) to interpose in the name of Their Nation, and with reference to things or Persons to make such demands from and on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as under no other style would have received any countenance: and this brought that universal Terror with it (as will appear to the life in the process of this History) upon Those of nearest relation to the King's Service, as well as Those at a greater distance, who clearly discerned and detested the Villany and Wickedness of those transactions, that their wariness and wisdom could not be great enough to preserve them, if they did not stupidly look on without seeming to understand what they could in no degree control or prevent.

In all Conspiracies there must be great secrecy, consent, and union; yet it can hardly be conceived, with what entire Confidence in each other, the numerous and not very rich Nobility of *Scotland* (for of the Common People, who are naturally very dependant on the other, there can be no wonder) concurred in the carrying on this Rebellion: their strange Condescension and Submission to their ignorant and insolent Clergy, who were to have great Authority because they were to inflame all sorts of men upon the obligations of Conscience; and in order thereunto, and to revenge a little Indiscretion and ill Manners of some of the Bishops, had liberty to erect a Tribunal the most Tyrannical over all sorts of men, and all the Families of the Kingdom: so that the Preacher reprehended the Husband, governed the Wife, chastised the Children and in-

sulted over the Servants, in the Houses of the Greatest men. They referred the management and conduct of the whole Affair to a Committee of a few, who had never before exercised any Office or Authority in the Public, with that perfect resignation and obedience, that no body presumed to inquire What was to be done, or to murmur at, or censure any thing that Was done; and the General himself, and the Martial affairs, were subject to this *Regimen* and Discipline as well as the Civil: yet They who were intrusted with this Superiority, paid all the Outward respect and reverence to the person of the General, as if all the power and disposal had been in Him alone.

The few *English* (for there were yet but very few who were intrusted from the Beginning of the enterprise, and with all that was Then projected) were men of reserved and dark natures, of great industry and address, and of much reputation for probity and integrity of life, and who trusted none but those who were contented to be trusted to that degree as they were willing to trust them without being inquisitive into more than they were ready to communicate, and for the rest depended upon their discretion and judgment; and so prepared and disposed, by second and third hands, many to concur and contribute to several preparatory actions, who would never have consented to the conclusions which naturally resulted from those premises.

This united strength, and humble and active temper, was not encountered by an equal providence and circumspection in the King's Councils,

BOOK

II.

or an equal temper and dutiful disposition in the Court; nor did they who resolved honestly and stoutly to discharge the offices of good Servants and good Subjects to the utmost opposition of all unlawful attempts, communicate their purposes to men of the same Integrity, that so they might unite their counsels as well in the manner and way, as their resolutions in the end. But every one thought it enough to preserve his own innocence, and to leave the Rest to those who should have authority to direct. The King was perplexed and irresolute, and according to his natural constitution (which never disposed him to jealousy of any man of whom he had once thought well) was full of hope, that his condition was not so bad as it seemed to be. The Queen wished much better to the Earl of *Holland*, than to the Arch-Bishop or the Earl of *Strafford*, neither of Them being in any degree acceptable to her; so that she was little concerned for the danger that threatened them: but when she saw the King's Honor and Dignity invaded in the prosecution, she withdrew her favor from the Earl of *Holland*: but then she was persuaded, by those who had most credit with her, to believe, that by the removal of the great Ministers, Her power and authority would be increased, and that the prevailing Party would be willing to depend upon her; and that by gratifying the principal Persons of them with such Preferments as they affected, she would quickly reconcile all ill humors: and so she hearkened to any overtures of that kind; which were always carried on without the consent or privity of those who were

concerned, who in truth more disliked Her absolute power with the King, than any other Excess of the Court, and looked upon it as the greatest Grievance. Every man There considered only what application would be most like to raise his Own fortune, or to do Those harm with whom he was angry, and gave himself wholly up to those Artifices which might promote either. To preserve themselves from the displeasure and censure of the Parliament, and to render themselves gracious to Those who were like to be powerful in it, was all men's business and solicitude. And in this very unequal and disproportioned condition and temper, was the King's and the *Scottish* Army, the Court and the Country, when the Parliament met.

B O O K
II.

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